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THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. VI.

THE
LIVES OF THE POPES
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper
existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D. 747-752*, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

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THE POPES OF THE GREGORIAN RENAISSANCE

ST LEO IX. TO HONORIUS II.

1049-1130

ST. LOUIS COLLEGE,
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

VOL. VI.—1049-1073

SECOND EDITION

LONDON

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KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.

ST. LOUIS, MO.: B. HERDER BOOK CO.

1925

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London

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To

HIS ALMA MATER

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THIS VOLUME

Is respectfully Dedicated

BY

A GRATEFUL SON

PREFACE.

BY way of preface to this additional series of *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, which is now offered to the public, I will simply say, in the words of an old Norse monk who wrote the history of the kings of his country, that "it may be taken as certain that I wish that someone other than myself had undertaken to tell the story of these events; but, as this task has not yet been attempted, I prefer to make the attempt myself rather than that it should not be made at all."¹

This much of a preface has been penned that I might find another opportunity of tendering my sincerest thanks to my friends, C. Hart, Esq., B.A., F. F. Urquhart, Esq., M.A., and E. Weidner, Esq., and to the Rev. A. Chadwick and A. Harding, Esq., who have with such ungrudging kindness again helped me either with the literary or with the artistic side of these volumes. And I am, moreover, only too glad once more to have a chance of expressing to the authorities of the Public Library of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and of St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, my grateful sense of their readiness to give me any assistance in their power.

H. K. MANN.

¹ Theodoric, *Hist. de antiquit. regum Norwag.*, p. 68, ed. Storm, Kristiania, 1880.

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Jaffé, or Regesta . . .	=	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Labbe.	=	<i>Sacrosancta Concilia</i> , ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., <i>Anastasius</i> , or the <i>Book of the Popes</i> }	=	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz . . .	=	<i>Monumenta Germaniæ Historica</i> , either <i>Scriptores</i> (M. G. SS.) or <i>Epistolæ</i> (M. G. Epp.) or <i>Poetæ</i> (M. G. PP.).
P. G.	=	<i>Patrologia Græca</i> , ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L.	=	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. SS.	=	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i> , ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
R. S., following an edition of a book }	=	The edition of the Chronicles, etc., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question well spoken of, but has not had the opportunity of examining it himself.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE century of papal history which it is hoped will be illustrated by the following pages was the age dominated by the great name of Hildebrand, and hence is often described as the *sæculum Hildebrandicum* . It was the age in which that high-minded¹ and pure-souled monk strove, either by his own exertions or by those which he inspired, to promote that reform in the Church which had been inaugurated by St. Leo IX. The efforts at reform took the shape of a determined struggle against the triple scourge of simony, clerical incontinence, and the tyrannical interference of the powerful in the domain of the Church, and were at length focussed in the fight against lay investiture. But the attempt to stifle this abuse which was begun under the saintly Pontiff from Lorraine, was not destined to be concluded either in his reign, during which Hildebrand was trained, or in those of his immediate successors who were under the influence of Hildebrand, or in that of Hildebrand himself. It was not to be terminated till the pontificate of Calixtus II.; while the general contest between the Papacy and the Empire which took its rise in this attempt at reform was to last till the fifteenth century, and was, in the temporal order, to exhaust both.

¹ Such is Bowden's invariable description of him, ap. *Life of Gregory VII.*, i. pp. 11-13, etc.

Resistance
to the
Gregorian
reform.

The reforming zeal of the Popes of the school of Hildebrand almost everywhere encountered the most stubborn opposition; so deep-rooted were the evils they strove to eradicate, so dear were they to the passions of the clergy, or to the interests of the great. And nowhere did they meet with greater opposition than in Italy. If simony was rife in France, it was worse in Germany, and worst of all in Italy¹; and if the spectacle of married priests and bishops was not uncommon in other countries of Europe,² it was nowhere more obvious than in Italy, and especially in Milan and in Lombardy generally. The reason of this is not far to seek. Though the Church

Italy, especially in its northern portion, had, owing to the power of its bishops, and to the comparatively rare interfering visits of the German emperors, been free to a very large extent from the royal oppression under

¹ "Per universam Galliam atque Germaniam symoniace philargirie crassari cupiditatem." . . . "Hec pessima . . . nequicia . . . multo amplius totam occupaverat Italiam." R. Glaber, *Hist.*, v. 5.

"Sed et omnis episcopus urbis
Plebes (parishes) vendebat."

Donizo, *in vit. Mathild.*, i. c. 15.

"Venenata illa hæresis præsertim in episcopali ordine" (S. Petr. D., *in vit. S. Romuald.*, c. 35). "Regnabat iniquitas, avaritia dominabat, Symon magus æclesiam possidebat, episcopi et sacerdotes voluptati et fornicationibus dediti erant" (S. Bruno of Segni, *Libell. de symoniac.*, c. 1, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii.). Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who wrote about 1150, speaks of ecclesiastical dignities which kings, emperors, and bishops sold from the days of Otho I. to those of Henry IV., and of almost the whole Church being infected by this vice of simony till the days of Gregory VII. (*Comment. in Ps.* 39, ap. *ib.*, iii. 436).

² "Non erubescabant sacerdotes uxores ducere, palam nuptias faciebant," etc. (Bruno, *l.c.*). Cf. the *Liber Gomorrhianus* of St. Peter Damian. On it, see *infra*, under Leo IX. Andrew, abbot of Estrun (Strumensis), in his life of St. John Gualbert (c. 3), says: "Quin potius perrarus (clericus) inveniretur (proh dolor!) qui non esset uxoratus vel concubinatus. De Simoniaca quid dicam? Omnes pene ecclesiasticos ordines hæc mortifera bellua devoraverat, ut qui ejus morsum evaserit, rarus inveniretur."

which it groaned in other countries, it had become thoroughly demoralised by the terrible anarchy of the tenth century, and its bishops were, for the most part, as loose in their morals as their secular compeers.

Though, then, the fight for independence and reform upon which the Popes had entered was to be long and bitter, and was to bring upon them a very large share of suffering from the Franconian emperors and their contemptible antipopes, they were not to stand alone in the combat. The words of such fiery champions of reform as St. Peter Damian must never be taken too literally. There were always good priests and even good bishops, and that too even in Italy, who were longing for a reformation in manners, and who were only waiting for an opportunity to help to promote it. Especially were the Popes supported by the religious orders, by the Camaldolese, founded by St. Romuald (1009), by the Premonstratensians (1125), and especially by the Benedictines, revived by the reforms of Cluny and by those of the Carthusians (1084), and of the Cistercians (1098), and producing from such centres as Bec and Clairvaux men like Lanfranc and SS. Anselm and Bernard. They were sustained also in their conflict against the powers of evil by men deservedly conspicuous for their sanctity, by St. Peter Damian, by St. Bruno of Segni, by St. John Gualbert, with his order of Vallombrosa,¹ and by St. Bruno with his Carthusians, who by their silence and penitential life protested loudly against the disorders of the age.

The era of which we are now about to write in detail was an era not only of ardent work for reform, but of great and glorious deeds, the soul of which was faith, both in the social and political as well as in the ecclesiastical order. It was the age in which the Crescent began its

An epoch
of vigorous
life.

¹ Confirmed by Victor II. Jaffé, 4346.

steady decline before the Cross; it saw the birth of the Crusades, "the Lord's doing, a wonder unknown to preceding ages and reserved for our days."¹ It was a time wherein, owing to the spread of the work of the *Truce of God*, and then to the departure of much of its warlike element to the East, there was, in spite of feudalism, greater peace in Europe. Under its blessed shadow learning at once revived.

Guibert, abbot of Nogent (†1124), assures² us that "wandering clerkings of modern times" are more learned than were the professed *grammarians* in the time of his boyhood, or immediately before it.

Towards the end of the eleventh century French and Provençal poetry made their appearance, and the parent of modern literature is said to have been the Frenchman, William of Poitiers, the chaplain of William the Conqueror.³ It was at the same period that the Moors in Spain began their final retreat before the arms of the Christians. The great legendary hero of Spain, Roderick Diaz de Bivar, the Cid, died in 1099, and it is far from unlikely that the Castilian Muse was, within fifty years of his death, busy with the rich verses of the *Poema del Cid*, or with the first of the mystery plays, the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*.⁴

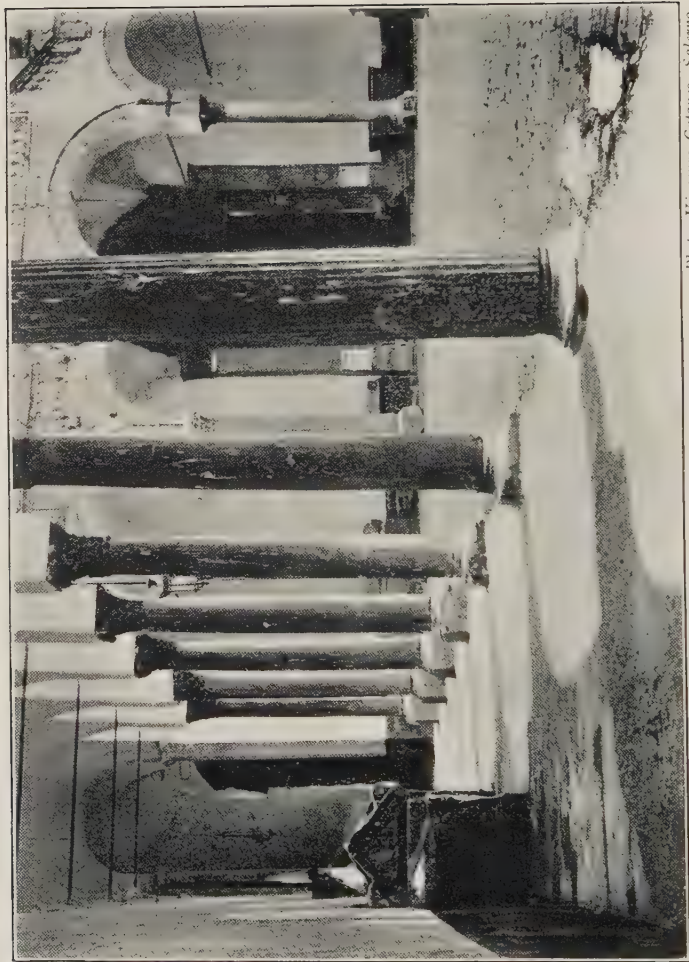
Side by side with the lighter forms of learning, there

¹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Chron.*, 1096.

² *De vita sua*, i. c. 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 156, p. 844.

³ Ker, *The Dark Ages*, p. 6.

⁴ Kelly, in his *History of Spanish Literature* (London, 1899), assigns (p. 47) 1135-75 as the date of the *Poema*, and would allow (p. 46) the *Misterio* to have been written twenty years earlier. Cf. p. 24 ff. His contentions are supported by Altamira, *Hist. de España*, i. p. 310. "Los primeros documentos literarios que conocen escritos completamente en romance, son de fines del siglo XI. ó comienzos del XII." With regard to the Poem of the Cid, he assigns it to the middle of the twelfth century, but the *Misterio*, doubtfully, to its close. *Ib.*, p. 509.



Photo, Vincenzo Catano, Salerno.

The Courtyard (Atrio) of Salerno Cathedral.

sprang into activity the more serious figures of law and medicine, philosophy and theology. As early as 1050 Salerno was known throughout Europe as a great school of medicine, and by his studies on Roman Law, Irnerius (c. 1113) was to render Bologna for ever famous as a primary fount of legal learning. And whilst he and his successors in the teaching of Civil Law were to be partisans of the German emperors, and by their study of the *Digest* and the other jurisprudence of Justinian were to give intellectual support to their absolutism, Deusdedit (who wrote in 1087) and the other canonists of the latter part of the eleventh century, and particularly Gratian, with his immortal *Decretum* (1142), were to give no little help to the cause of the Popes and to civilisation generally.¹ And if St. John Damascene and John the Scot are remote ancestors of scholasticism, Roscelin (†1106), St. Anselm of Canterbury, William of Champeaux (†1121), and Abelard (†1142) are its immediate parents. The ages wherein men "had been content to gather up and reproduce the traditional wisdom of the Fathers"² had passed away, and the powers of reason were to be used to inquire into and to systematise the masses of theological truths grouped together by the patient labour of Bedes and Alcuins.

The appearance of scholastic theology shows us that this age possessed an increased scientific knowledge of God and of the truths of God; the revival of art³ (manifesting

¹ Cf. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, i. p. 128 ff. (Gratian and the Canon Law).

² *Christian Schools and Scholars*, i. p. 418. Cf. Hallam, *History of the Literature of Europe*, i. 8; Newman, *Rise and Progress of Universities*, pp. 168-169, etc., and Essay XII., *Reformation of the Eleventh Century*; and Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, cc. 27 and 28.

³ Cf. *The Renaissance of Art in Italy*, by Leader Scott, p. 21 ff. With all his admiration for the artistic work and influence of Constantinople, Bayet (*L'art byzant.*, p. 2, 3rd ed.) admits that there were

itself in connection with church building and decoration) which took place during it is evidence enough of an increase of devout feeling for the things of God. In every country we find architectural masterpieces arising which have excited the admiration of every succeeding age that has itself been blessed with any degree of enlightenment. What Raoul Glaber¹ tells us of the remarkable increase in church building during this epoch is abundantly borne out by what is known of the history of the great European ecclesiastical structures. France saw arising the great cathedrals of Autun (1060), Cahors (1096), Chartres (1108), Evreux (1112), and Laon (1114), etc. In the country of her modern ally, the erection of churches at Novgorod (1056), Kieff (1075), and Pskof (1138) is recorded. In England most of our cathedrals date back to this age, as in Scotland do Glasgow Cathedral (1123) and the abbey churches of Kelso and Waverley (1128), and as in Ireland do St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (1090), and King Cormack's Chapel in Cashel (1127). Many a cathedral too in Germany,²

local (*indigènes*) schools of art in France, Italy, and Germany before the twelfth century. On the continuity of the *Roman school* of art during the early Middle Ages, on its development with the reform of Gregory VII., and on the handing over of its traditions to Giotto and the Florentine school, see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*, i. 35, 36, 52, 53, etc., ed. 1903. It was in this age that Lombard architecture reached its perfection (Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy*, p. 272 ff.), and that stone was everywhere substituted for wood in religious architecture.

¹ *Hist.*, iii. c. 4, n. 13. Cf. Gerhoh of Reichersperg (†1169), *Comment. in Psalmos*, Pars. vii., Psal. lxiv., seu *Lib. de corrupto eccles. statu*, n. 52, p. 41, ap. *P. L.*, t. 194, or ap. *M. Germ. Libell.*, iii. p. 461. He speaks of the parallel advance of the people in virtue, and of the churches in beauty: "Ecclesiastica ædificia de die in diem crescentia, et auratis imaginibus fulgentibus, morum simul et murorum quotidiano incremento et ornamento. . . . Sic in diebus nostris ecclesia Lateranensis, etc., crescentes profecerunt in religione simul et in forinseca murorum ampliacione."

² Spire (1061), Trèves (1077), Worms (1105), Bamberg (1110), and Hildesheim (1131), etc.

Italy,¹ and Spain² can proudly trace back its origin to this remote period, as can even Lund (1072) and Westaras (1100) in Sweden,³ and Roeskilda (1084) in Denmark. So great was the zeal for the erection of magnificent churches that in many instances existing buildings were pulled down in order that they might be rebuilt in what was regarded as a more perfect style. It was to this impulse in this great period of Romanesque architecture that we owe many of the existing Romanesque cathedrals. And just as many a basilica had in this age to give place to a Romanesque cathedral, so in the next many a Romanesque building, *e.g.*, the Romanesque cathedral of Chartres, was levelled to the ground that the present Gothic structure might, on the same site, raise its noble front to the glory of God on High. But beautiful churches were not the only buildings which graced the Gregorian revival. It was distinguished by the erection of edifices of all kinds for the benefit of the energetic, or the consolation of the suffering. And we find his biographer noting with regard to St. John Gualbert (†1073) that he was a great bridge builder, and founder of hospitals throughout the whole of Tuscany.⁴ The winter of the early Middle Ages, with its darkness and its violent storms, had gone, and their springtime had come, instinct

¹ Lucca and Parma (1060), Venice (1063), Pisa (1064), Anagni (1074), Modena (1099), Cremona (1107), etc.

² Leon (1063), Coimbra (1064), Santiago (1078), Avilla (1091) Salamanca (1120), etc. I have extracted these dates from *The Chronology of Med. Architecture*, by J. T. Perry, London, 1893.

³ There is no country in Europe where so many old stone churches of the *eleventh*, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries are found as in Sweden; they are abundant from the central part to its southern extremity. . . . Many are perfect specimens of the architecture of those periods." P. du Chaillu, *The Land of the Midnight Sun*, ii. 356, London, 1881.

⁴ Andrew, *in vit. S. Johan.*, c. 3.

with bursting growth and gladdened with fresh life, even if troubled with violent winds and sweeping showers.

Italy. Turning our eyes from the West in general to Italy, the more immediate field of papal labour, we are at once struck with the fact that the three empires which, in the last epoch, were so vigorously contending for the possession of its fair form, are now fading from its shores. The power of the Saracen Empire declined everywhere before the close of the tenth century. At the beginning of the eleventh century it had no permanent centres of aggression on the mainland of south Italy, and was being taught by bitter experience the might of the new maritime powers of Venice and Pisa. Even its predatory incursions became less frequent as the century advanced.

The same age saw the disappearance from the peninsula of the more disciplined troops of Constantinople. Their occupation of southern Italy, begun by the capture of Bari in 876, was brought to a close by their expulsion from it by the Normans in 1071. And if the rights of the German Empire were not yet to be extinguished in northern Italy, the rise of the people and of the communes or free burghs, which was to prove fatal to them, had already begun; so that during this epoch southern Italy became rapidly more and more Norman; northern Italy made steady advances towards becoming the land of free cities; and central Italy, especially through the Donation of the Countess Matilda, fell more than ever under the direct influence of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes.

Extent of
the tem-
poral sway
of Popes.

It is, however, owing to the great dearth of documentary evidence, very difficult to say what was the precise extent of the papal domination at the opening of this epoch. In theory at least the states of the Church were as extensive as ever, and, by the junction to them of Benevento (1051), might even seem to be actually, i.e., *de facto*, more extensive

than ever. But though it is true that Otho I. renewed the donations of the Carolingians, the effective control of the Popes over their states was rather diminished than increased by that sovereign and his immediate successors. They protected the Exarchate of Ravenna in the name of the Pope; and in their own name, despite the protests of the Popes, disposed of its territories to men of their own choice.¹ Even in the Duchy of Rome, the power of the Popes, like that of the other sovereigns of the West, was very largely controlled by the feudal rights and customs which had been usurped by the nobility. And what had befallen the sovereign claims of the Popes during Rome's Dark Age had also, to a very large extent, overtaken their ownership rights.² Their privy purse had become as empty as their State treasury. We have, or shall soon have, seen³ the low ebb at which Stephen (V.) VI. and St. Leo IX. found the papal finances. To restore them we shall find the Popes of this period endeavouring to develop comparatively fresh sources of revenue. During the century in which they lost the *patrimonies* of the Church, the monasteries of Europe had begun to pay them taxes in return for privileges;⁴ and the

¹ Cf. Épinois, *Le Gouvernement des Papes*, p. 40. "The archbishops of Ravenna, who had obtained, partly by usurpation and partly by papal grant, the supremacy of the exarchate, were generally Germans, and held their temporal possessions as imperial fiefs." Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, ii. 230.

² "Distrahebatur prædium Romanæ sedis in partes innumeras," said Guido of Ferrara in 1086, *De scismate Hildebrandi*, ii., init.

³ Cf. *supra*. Wibert, *in vit. Leonis*, "Nihil pontificalium sumptuum invenerat." Hence Gebhardt (Victor II.) made it the condition on which he would accept the Pápacy that the emperor should restore the possessions of St. Peter. And when he actually became Pope: "Tum consentiente tam etiam invito imperatore . . . multa . . . castella injuste ablata juste recepit." *Anon. Haser.*, ap. Watterich, i. 181.

⁴ And so Victor II. confirms those of the convent of St. Vitus, Heltenensis (Helten on the Rhine), on condition that, in accordance with the will of its founder, "a pound of silver should each year be brought to Rome." Jaffé, 4355. Cf. Fabre, *Étude*, p. 67. It was

English had set the example to other countries of paying to the Popes the voluntarily imposed tax of Peter's pence.¹ We shall see Alexander II. and Gregory VII. urging its regular payment on William the Conqueror, as the former had already done on the King of Denmark.² We need not then begin to think of greed of gold or lust of power when the efforts of Gregory and other Popes of this period to obtain money, or to extend their regal authority, are brought to our notice. As little could be done without money in the Middle Ages as now, and both gold and temporal authority were required by the Popes if, especially in an age of violence, they were to be in a position to exercise the charity of the priest, or to preserve in any way the dignity and independence befitting the Head of the Church.

Position of
the Popes
in Rome.

During the *sæculum Hildebrandicum*, the position of the Popes improved not only from a pecuniary point of view, and with regard to their real authority over their States generally, but also in the matter of their control over the turbulent Romans. Owing to the collapse of the Byzantine power before the arms of the Lombards, civil authority in Rome had fallen into the hands of the Popes *by default*, and had practically remained there during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. But during the eighth century, owing to the establishment of a local militia, a military aristocracy had begun to be formed, which, of course, increased in importance when the Popes became temporal during this epoch that the *Polyptychus* (revenue account-book) of Popes Gelasius and Gregory the Great, which was out of date owing to the loss of the patrimonies, was replaced by that of Canon Benedict (1142). His work took account of the revenues from monasteries. Cf. ch. 49, l. iii. of Deusdedit's *Collect. Can.*, which is inserted in Benedict's *Polyptychus*. Cf. Fabre, *Le Polypt. du chan. Benoit*, pp. 4-7.

¹ Cf. Fabre, *Étude sur le Liber Censuum*, p. 150.

² Jaffé, 4495 (3379).

rulers, and had more wealth and lucrative positions at their disposal. This body, which had made its influence bear so heavily on the papal government that, during the ninth century, the latter had had to appeal to the Carolingian rulers for assistance against its encroachments, obtained its own way completely when the Frankish Empire went to pieces. For a century and a half the Roman nobles, with their fortress-houses in Rome, and their great estates outside it, lorded it over the city, and reduced it and the Papacy to the very lowest depths.¹ But, partly broken by the Othos, who re-established the prefect of the city as their representative, partly kept in subjection by the firm hand of Hildebrand, who took away from them all opportunity of interfering in papal elections, and partly checked by the growing power of the people, who in the last years of this epoch (1143) asserted their independence of both Pontiff and baron, the nobles had to give way to the power of the Popes.²

The first to benefit by the increased freedom and wealth of the sovereign Pontiffs was the city of Rome itself. They begin again to improve it.

¹ What St. Peter Damian, writing to Pope Alexander II. (ep. i. 15), says of the doings of the powerful in general has special application to the Roman barons: "Everywhere the laity assail the rights of the Church, appropriate her revenues, and harry her possessions. They glory in carrying off the patrimony of the poor, as though it was the spoil of an enemy. Nor do they cease to prey upon one another. . . . They fire the thatched roofs of the peasants, and are not ashamed to vent on unarmed rustics the warlike fury which they cannot pour on their enemies." Every advance effected by the party of reform was a gain to the helpless.

² Cf. an eleventh century annalist (ap. Baluzii, *Miscell.*, v. 64), who, after mentioning certain powers possessed by the nobles, adds: "Grandiora Urbis et Orbis negotia longe superexcedunt eorum judicia, spectantque ad Romanum pontificem sive illius vicarios, itemque ad Romanum imperatorem, sive illius vicarium." Quoted by Rodocanachi, *Les instit. communales de Rome*, p. 18. *Il reggimento civile di Roma nel medioevo*, by Armellini (1881), is nothing like as useful as Rodocanachi.

Under Paschal II. and Calixtus II. not a few churches were repaired and embellished, and under Innocent II. we see a revival in mosaic work. Art never perished in Rome, even during the dark days of the tenth century,¹ but, helped by the Popes, it took during this age a new development in the hands of the Roman marmorarii or marble-cutters. For it was about the beginning of the twelfth century that there began to be cultivated in Rome that beautiful geometrical arrangement of pieces of coloured marbles which, from one of its later distinguished artists, came to be known as Cosmatesque work.² At once architects, decorators, and sculptors, these Roman marmorarii formed a guild which rose and fell with the prosperity of the Popes in Rome. It originated during the twelfth century, did its best work in the thirteenth, and disappeared in the fourteenth.

In enumerating the cities which led the way in the revival of Italian art, Sir Martin Conway places Rome first, and adds that in Rome during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries no inconsiderable amount of interesting work was done,³ and, as just noted, was done under the direction of the Popes. Building and artistic operations were almost forced upon them owing to the necessity of repairing the damage wrought on the city by the terrible fires that devastated it during the eleventh century or thereabouts. It is the custom of historians to ascribe all

¹ "In the tenth and eleventh centuries the native school (of painting in Rome) still preserved its existence, and never sank to such depths of degradation as did some of the other early Italian schools. . . . The Roman school preserved a continuous life until the coming of the Cosmati" (twelfth century). Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting*, p. 53 n.

² Cf. *Les Papes et les arts* (p. 286 ff.), by Pératé. On the Cosmati, see Crowe, ch. iii.; the *Archivio di storia patria*, 1904, pp. 1-26; and Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, ch. xvi.

³ *Early Tuscan Art*, p. 22, London, 1902.

the destruction inflicted on Rome by fire during the eleventh century to that which took place in 1084, when Robert Guiscard relieved Gregory VII. But we are informed that the city "was almost wholly destroyed" by a fire which occurred about 993;¹ that under Pope Leo IX., on the feast of St. Eustachius, "a great part of the city was burned,"² and that in the days of Alexander II. that portion of the city was consumed by fire which stretched from the *Parrione* quarter to St. Felix *in Pincis*.³ There was need, then, of works of restoration before 1084, and that date was not awaited to begin them. "The frescos of S. Clemente are certainly the foundation stone of the revival of painting, and they date from Hildebrand's time; so do those of S. Pudentiana, which he restored, and those in the Cappella del Martirologio at S. Paul's. In fact, Hildebrand undertook a radical restoration of this basilica and its annexes. . . . It is even thought that the present monastic buildings and cloister of S. Prassede are the work of Hildebrand."⁴ Of course, after the year 1084, there was more need than ever of building and decorative activity. Hildebert of Lavardin, who visited Rome in 1100, gives us a sad picture of the state of ruin in which he found the city, but suggests that all the resources of his time could not build anything equal even to Rome's ruins. "Rome was," he says, and yet :

"Bid wealth, bid marble, and bid fate attend,
And watchful artists o'er the labour bend,

¹ Raoul Glaber, *Hist.*, ii. 7.

² See a twelfth century papal catalogue, ap. Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 329.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 122. With regard to the frescos of S. Clemente, it is perhaps not safe to say more than that, while in general they were painted between the ninth century and the eleventh, some of them were probably executed in Hildebrand's time. Cf. Marucchi, *Basiliques de Rome*, p. 291.

Still shall the matchless ruin art defy
 The old to rival, or its loss supply.
 No art can equal that which still doth stand,
 No skill make good what lieth on the sand."¹

It was in the days of Pope Paschal that Hildebert came to Rome, and it was he who, during the few years of peace which he had after the year 1112, "made the first attempts to rebuild the city. . . . Modern researches are continually enlarging the scope of this brief activity." The labours of Hildebrand had prepared the way for him, and "there were artists of a kind at his disposal when he began to attack his problem of renovation, to tear down the half-ruined buildings, establish new levels and new lines of streets, and lay the foundations of modern Rome, as it was until its dismemberment by the Renaissance Popes, and its disruption by the Italians, after the annexation in 1870. We know the names of a few of these artists: Paulus, chief among his architects and decorators, Guido and Petrolinus among his painters."²

The East.

For many centuries the influence of the Bishops of Rome over the churches of the East had been but small. And we have seen them sever their connection with them (1053) by a stroke which was destined to be final, and to be rapidly followed by the ruin of the Eastern Roman Empire. The last period of its military glory came to an end before the close of the Macedonian Dynasty in 1057, and the final bright epoch of its literary life, inaugurated by Photius, expired with the school of Psellus (†1078). Within twenty years after the legates of St. Leo IX. pronounced the excommunication of Michael Cerularius, the

¹ "Tantum restat adhuc, tantum ruit, ut neque pars stans
 Æquari possit, diruti nec refici."

Hauréau, *Les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert*, p. 331 f. Most of the translation is that of Dr. Giles.

² Frothingham, *l.c.*, 121 ff.

Byzantine Empire received a blow from which it never recovered. By the battle of Manzikert, when Alp-Arslan with his Seljukian Turks defeated the emperor Romanus Diogenes, the Empire was broken. This was in 1071, and it was in the same year that the loss of Bari deprived Constantinople of its hold on Italy. It was "utterly ruined" by the Crusaders' raid in 1204, "and from that time till the capture by the Turks it was a feeble wreck."¹ But over both the schism of the Greeks and their temporal misfortunes the Popes grieved. Their miseries overwhelmed them with sorrow;² and, as we shall see, they made one vain effort after another to heal a gaping wound which for well-nigh a thousand years has refused to close.

Before this introductory chapter is brought to a con- Simony.
clusion, a word or two may be said in connection with simony and clerical marriage, of which mention will so frequently be made in the pages that are to follow. In the Acts of the Apostles (c. 8) it is related that a certain Simon Magus attempted to buy from St. Peter the power of bestowing the gifts of the Holy Ghost. From this action of the magician the sin of giving or receiving any temporal emolument in direct exchange for any spiritual profit became known as simony. Gregory VII. points out that the sin may be committed when other things besides money or money value are given in exchange for what is spiritual. Hence, for the sake of clearness, he divides what may be thus offered into three classes, which he calls "*munera* (gifts) *a manu, ab obsequio, et a lingua.*" By the first he understands the giving of money or its worth; by the

¹ Harrison, *Byzantine History in the Middle Ages*, pp. 10, 11.

² Such is the language of St. Greg. VII. "Circumvallat enim me dolor immanis . . . quia orientalis ecclesia instinctu diaboli a catholica fide deficit." Ep. ii. 49.

second the offering of any kind of service; and by the third the promise of the use of influence on the donor's behalf.¹ On the other hand, by the phrase "things spiritual" is to be understood not merely what are such in themselves, as the gifts of the Holy Ghost, but those temporal things which are closely connected with them, as, for instance, the sacred vessels or the right of patronage. It was, however, the grossest form of simony against which the mediæval Pontiffs had to direct all their energies, viz., the simony *a manu*, the simony of which the powerful were guilty when they sold ecclesiastical offices to the highest bidder. There was comparatively little question of the more refined varieties of the crime. Indeed, it would seem that those rulers were regarded as free from simony who kept their hands from taking money for the bishoprics and abbacies of which they disposed.² Had there been no question of the grosser simony (*simonia a manu*), the Popes would not have convulsed Europe on the subject.

Clerical
marriage.

Another abuse against which the Popes of this period offered strenuous and successful opposition was that by which bishops and priests took to themselves wives, and lived as married men.³ The custom had crept in during

¹ Ep. vi. 34, ed. Jaffé, p. 370. He forbids simoniacal transactions "a manu: ut nullum pretium prorsus a se vel ab aliquo tribuatur; ab obsequio: ut nichil inde servitii faciat, sicut quidam intentione ecclesiasticæ prælationis potentibus personis solent deferre; a lingua: ut neque per se neque per summissam personam preces effundat."

² Speaking of Roger II. of Sicily, John of Salisbury says (*Hist. pont.*, c. 32, ap. *M. G. S.S.*, xx.): "In ecclesiarum vero ordinationibus, a symonia que a manu est credebatur immunis, et probos undecumque essent in eas introducere gaudebat viros."

³ This is not the place to discuss such abstract questions as the advisability, etc., of clerical celibacy. We would refer those who wish for information on these and other points of Catholic teaching regarding *celibacy* to a most lucid article by Father Thurston on that subject in vol. iii. of the *Catholic Encyclopædia*. In the said article will be found a satisfactory refutation of the statements put forth in H. C. Lea's

the dread days of feudal anarchy, and in many parts of Christendom was tolerated by public opinion. It would appear certain that in the first ages of the Church, down to about the time of the great council of Nice, there were no laws forbidding the clergy to be married ; but even during that epoch marriage was very early prohibited to those who had once taken Holy Orders. This canonical discipline on the matter is that still in force in the Greek Church, and in the East generally. But in the West a severer discipline began to be introduced soon after the council of Nice, and, by the time of St. Leo I. (440-461), it was well-nigh universally recognised that all those in Holy Orders were bound to lead a celibate life. However, after the break-up of the Carolingian Empire, the laws both of the Church and of the State were largely disregarded. Very many of the clergy married without, it would appear, giving much or any scandal to the laity, and even transmitted their benefices to their offspring. But during all this anarchical epoch neither the Church nor the State ceased altogether to endeavour to enforce its laws, and, as soon as the troublous times began to pass away, the Church at once commenced to re-establish its canons regarding the celibacy of the clergy. An indulgence, however, which in many parts of Christendom at least, had been sanctioned by long custom, was not likely to be surrendered without a struggle. It required to suppress it not merely the exhortations of the most virtuous among the clergy themselves, but the authority of the greatest of the Popes, manifested in drastic legislation. This went so far that, during the course of the twelfth century, the marriage of bishops, priests, deacons, and even of sub-deacons was decreed to be not simply

History of Sacerdotal Celibacy. That writer's peculiar methods of "running up" history have been thoroughly exposed by M. Baumgarten in his *H. C. Led's Historical Writings*, New York, 1909.

unlawful, but invalid. And this discipline, enforced by the great reforming Pontiffs of the Gregorian Renaissance, is that in vogue in the Catholic Church to-day.

Now that we have reviewed the arena in which the Popes had to fight, have enumerated the foes against whom they had to contend, and have reckoned those on whose help in the combat they could rely, we must recount their deeds in detail. In reading them we must never lose sight of the end for which the Roman Pontiffs were striving. It was for no other than the moral upraising of both clergy and people. In the course of their struggle to accomplish this all-important object, they may not have always used the best means. In a long and fierce fight, supposing every effort is made to conduct it properly, some deeds are sure to be done, even by the party that is fighting for the right, which are not altogether creditable to it. Hence, in the history of the hard contest between the Church and the Empire, we shall encounter some things which would have been better either not done at all, or, at least, done in a different way. But with the best and the most impartial writers who have treated of this war of Titans, it may unhesitatingly be stated that the end the Popes had in view was the highest, and that in the main their mode of conducting the campaign for liberty, justice, and virtue was most fair and most honourable, and was in harmony with the glorious cause for which they were contending.

ST. LEO IX.

A.D. 1049-1054.

Sources.—With Leo IX., who, as another Pope¹ said of him, “*began to call upon the name of the Lord,*”² commences a new era in the matter of papal biography. The brilliant period of renewed spiritual and intellectual life inaugurated by Leo IX. was to find those who would put its bright deeds on record. We shall no longer have to be content with one-line biographies of the world’s reformers.

The first of a glorious succession of Pontiffs whose deeds will never be forgotten, and will ever render the second half of the eleventh century one of the most memorable epochs in the history of civilisation, had several biographers. The most important of his *Lives* is generally ascribed to Wibert,³ archdeacon of the diocese of Toul, who was an intimate friend of Leo when the latter was bishop of that diocese. When he began his biography,⁴ its hero was still alive, and it was his intention to leave “to the learned, and especially to those of Rome, the grateful task of giving to the Catholic Church a faithful account of his deeds as Pope of Rome.”⁵ However, after Leo’s death, and between 1057 and

¹ Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, afterwards Victor III., in the third book of his *Dialogues*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1006.

² *Genes.*, iv. 26.

³ Brucker (*S. Leo*, vol. i., Append vi.) has shown reason to believe that it was really written by one of two monks of Saint-Èvre who both bore the name of Herbert or Heribert.

⁴ Ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i.; Watterich, *Vit. Pont.*, i. 127; *P. L.*, t. 143.

⁵ Prologue to book i.

1070, he added a second book, in which he gives an account of the saint's pontificate. As the writer was no longer constantly by Leo's side, the latter book naturally has not the same authority as the former.

"The blessed Pope Gregory (VII.) used to tell us many things about this great man (Leo). . . . On one occasion, when he was thus speaking to us, he began to blame us, me especially, it appeared (as he kept his eyes fixed on me), for allowing by our silence the deeds of the Blessed Leo to perish—deeds which would bring glory to the Roman Church, and would serve as a lesson in humility to all who came to hear of them. But since his words were not addressed to anyone in particular, no one took in hand what all were enjoined to do." These are the words of Bruno, bishop of Segni (†1125), who under Urban II. (1088–1099) wrote a biography¹ of Leo which, written in the form of a letter, is too hortatory to be of much historical value. He was finally induced to write by a message to him from St. Leo himself, conveyed in a dream to a friend of his.

Of more utility is the work of an anonymous monk of Benevento, who towards the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century wrote a *Life*² of Leo which is of importance for the Pope's Norman expedition. Its other materials are drawn from the earlier sources here enumerated, "from the writings or relations of venerable persons," as the monk himself expresses it.

In Migne (*P. L.*, t. 142, p. 1411 f.) will be found in its entirety³ a contemporary account by the monk Anselm of the synod held at Rheims (1049) by Leo. It is especially interesting from the light it throws on the attitude of the king of France towards the Papacy. Anselm wrote his *Hist. dedic. eccles. S. Remigii* some six years after the holding of the synod, and from memory. The details of Leo's death have been preserved for us by Libuin,⁴ a

¹ Ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. ii. ; Watterich, *l.c.*, 95 f. ; *P. L.*, t. 165.

² Ap. Watterich, *l.c.*, p. vic.

³ Watterich (*l.c.*, p. 113 f.) gives part of it, and Delarc (*S. Leo*, p. 174 f., or in his *Grégoire VII.*, i. 135 ff.) gives a translation of all of it, except about the building of the basilica of St. Remigius.

⁴ Ap. *P. L.*, t. 143, p. 526 ; Watterich, *l.c.*, p. 170. Some would identify him with Lietbuinus, chancellor of the Holy See in 1085. Cf. Jaffé, 4391.

subdeacon of the Roman Church. But, though drawn up by him,¹ the document sets forth what all the priests and deacons, and all the people of the Roman Church saw with their own eyes. A list of miracles wrought at his sepulchre from the day after his death to the octave of Pentecost (April 20 to May 29) is also given by the Roman cleric.

In 1906 there was published for the first time, by Poncelet (*Analecta Bollandiana*, t. xxv. p. 258 ff.), a document which throws light on one of the sources of Libuin, and which gives us another biographer of Leo. Before the close of the eleventh century an anonymous author (whom we shall call *Anon. biog. (B.)*), possibly of Benevento, compiled, apparently for liturgical purposes, an account of the saintly Pope. The first part of his work is a brief notice of Leo as Pope, especially treating of his relations with Benevento and the Normans. As our author, though far from learned, was a well-informed contemporary, this part of his work is important. His account of Leo's death, and of the miracles wrought in connection with his body immediately after his death, was written by a native of Ravenna who was bishop of Cervia, probably Bishop Bonus. The work of Bishop Bonus (?) supplied Libuin with his material. The third portion of the work of the *Anon. biog. (B.)* relates a single miracle which was wrought at the tomb of the Pope not long after his death.

The most voluminous writer on the Popes of the eleventh century was Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, a follower even to death (†1091) of Gregory VII. His works are those of an ardent partisan. His *Liber ad amicum*,² in which is to be found most of what he has to say about the Popes, was written in 1085 for the Countess Matilda. His veracity is contested by many, though Balzani (*Chronicles of Italy*, p. 214), among others, asserts that

¹ Brucker (*Leo*, ii. 364 n.) prefers to see in Libuin the author of the Beneventan biography. Cf. Watterich, *l.c.*, p. xc.

² Ap. Watterich; *P. L.*, t. 150; Jaffé, *Monument. Gregor.*, who (p. 586) has no faith in Bonizo's veracity: "Bonithone historico fuisse neminem fere mendaciorem"; and, lastly, by Duemmler, in the first vol. of the *Libelli de Lite Imp. et Pont.*, in the *M. G. H.* series. He is not so severe on Bonizo as Jaffé, but still believes that he is sometimes not merely careless, but dishonest (p. 570). Watterich treats at length (p. xxiii. f.) on Bonizo's works. It is to the fifth book of the *Ad amicum* we must turn for information on Leo.

"he sets down the facts simply as he knows them, without ever intentionally altering anything."

Leo's letters, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

Of St. Peter Damian (1007-1072), another important authority¹ for the Popes of the eleventh century, enough will be said in the text. His character was well summed up by Bernald of Constance when he called him "the Jerome of our times."

The *Liber Pontificalis* has but little to say of St. Leo, and what is said is evidently not the work of a contemporary, and is confused.

Sufficient will also be said in the text concerning Lanfranc (1005-1089), archbishop of Canterbury, and the great opponent of Berengarius.

The principal sources for the Greek schism were first collected by Will, *Acta et Scripta quæ de controversiis Eccles. Græcæ et Lat. sæc. xi. composita extant*, Lipsiæ et Marburgi, 1861. Although this collection only professed to give the ecclesiastical documents relative to the schism, it is now incomplete, as important monuments, ecclesiastical and otherwise, have been brought to light since its publication. Of the latter, those of the first importance are the history (from Basil II., 976, to the accession of Michael Botaneiates, 1077), epitaphioi, and letters² of Michael Psellus. The story of the schism is to be found in the Epitaphios of Cerularius. Psellus (b. 1018, † at a very advanced age), from being a state official, was induced, by loss of goods and court favour, to become a monk. He again, however, returned to the world, and once more became a state official. As a writer he is exact and, from his position, naturally well informed.³

Modern Works.—*Un Pape Alsacien*, by Delarc, Paris, 1876, a work solidly founded on the original sources. More diffuse is *L'Alsace et l'église au temps du Pape S. Leo*, by Brucker, 2 vols., Paris, 1889. Cerroti quotes (*Bibliograf. di Roma*, i. 553)

¹ His works ap. *P. L.*, t. 144, 145. See *Storia di S. Pier Damiano*, Roma, 1887, by Capececiaturo.

² Ap. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Græca Medii Ævi*, Paris, 1874. The history and epitaphioi are in vol. iv. Methuen & Co. (London) are publishing some of the works of Psellus.

³ Cf. Bury, *English Historical Review*, vol. iv., 1889.

among the writers on Leo, Boureulle, *Un Pape Alsacien*, etc. It is a little paper of ten pages, of no importance, in the *Bulletin de la Soc. Philomatique Vosgienne*. The *Saint Léon IX.*, by the Abbé Martin, Paris, 1904, does not add to our knowledge.

On the controversy regarding the Eucharist, Delarc wrote a special article (*Les Origines de l'hérésie de Bérenger*) in the *Revue des Quest. Hist.*, xx. 1876, which he reproduced in his *Un Pape Alsacien*.

The work of Bréhier, *Le Schisme Oriental du XI^e Siècle*, Paris, 1899, is literally all that could be desired on the consummation of the Greek schism.¹ See also Ermini, *Michele Cerulario*, Roma, 1897; and chap. v. of Dr. Fortescue's *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, London, 1907.

To the great family which had already given to the world St. Leger,² a grandson of Charlemagne, and St. Odilia,³ and was yet to give to it St. Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensians, and Rodolf of Hapsburg, belonged Bruno of Egisheim. It was fitting that one who was destined for such noble deeds, who was with honour to close the darkest period of the history of the Papacy, and was to inaugurate

Birth of
Bruno.

¹ I had hoped for some valuable assistance from Hore's *Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church*, London, 1899. But, apart from the fact that no attempt has been made to use the original sources, it is hardly accurate enough to be of much service. He says, e.g., (p. 383), of the "immediate successor, (viz.) Boniface VI." of Formosus, that he was "a man of such profligate character," etc. He has confused him with Boniface VII., who lived about 100 years later. Two pages further on, he speaks of the harmless Pope John XI. as "infamous." He has probably confused him with John XII. At any rate, neither directly nor indirectly did he consecrate the patriarch Theophylact. On p. 390 he says that it was through *Theophano* that John XVI. was appointed antipope! It was through John Crescentius. And on the following page he tells us of "the Tuscan family under which the Papacy had so long groaned before the time of the Ottos." He refers to the family of the counts of *Tusculum*; and the first count of Tusculum known to history lived under Otho III. These are mistakes I noticed where I first began to examine the book.

² Cf. *Hist. de S. Léger*, p. ii., by Cardinal Pitra; Delarc, p. 2.

³ Cf. ep. 50.

the grand yet peaceful Reformation of the eleventh century, should have such a noble origin. His parents, Hugh, who was first cousin of the Emperor Conrad, and Heilewide,¹ were distinguished by their piety and learning,² as well as by their illustrious descent. Wibert assures us that the circumstances of Bruno's birth gave promise of his future holiness and greatness. One night, shortly before he was born, his mother had a vision in which she was told that she would give birth to a male child who should be great before God, and whom she must call by the name of Bruno. And behold! when the child was born (June 21, 1002), its little body was marked all over with tiny crosses. Here we may or may not be face to face with the supernatural; for many most extraordinary cases have been recorded which show that the child in the womb can be affected in the most wonderful way by powerful sensations experienced by the mother. But whether in this instance there is or is not question of the supernatural, there is no doubt that the faith and piety which could so affect the body of the future Pope had no small share in producing the grand character which Bruno afterwards developed.

It was at the castle of Egisheim, near Colmar, situated on one of the advance slopes of the Vosges, "on the borders of sweet Alsace," that Bruno first saw the light.³

Education. At five years of age the little Bruno was entrusted to the care of Berthold, bishop of Toul, to be by him trained and educated. This zealous bishop had not only reformed monasteries, improved the trade of his episcopal city, and adorned it as well with numerous public buildings as by

¹ Cf. ep. 30, where Leo subjects to the Holy See the convent of Woffenheim, which his parents, whom he names, had founded.

² "Pater . . . natione Teutonicus . . . in patria lingua atque latina disertissimus, mater . . . æque . . . perita." Wibert, l. i. c. i. *Latina*, i.e. Romance or French, according to Brucker, *S. Leo*, i. p. 12 n.

³ Delarc (p. 2 n.) has made this quite clear.

gathering learned men within its walls,¹ but had also founded a school for the sons of the nobility. Here, under the able guidance of the bishop, and with the aid of a naturally bright mind, Bruno soon showed himself as superior in intelligence to most of his companions as he already was in birth and wealth. But, though to these advantages Bruno added grace of body, he was dear to his schoolfellows; for he did not allow himself to be puffed up by his good fortune, but was affable and kind, and was at everyone's service.²

In connection with his early training two interesting Stories of his youth, stories have reached us. One is from the chronicle of Saint Hubert d'Andain, one of the most remarkable historical productions of medieval Belgium, which was composed about the year 1098.³ The Emperor Lothaire had presented to the abbey of St. Hubert in the Ardennes a splendid Psalter written in letters of gold, and ornamented with a portrait of his father, Louis the Pious, to whom it had belonged. This beautiful book, said to be still in existence,⁴ and removed from the monastery in some dishonest manner, came to be offered for sale in Toul. It was at once bought by Heilewide, and given to her little son. But, strange to say, the lovely golden letters, instead of serving to encourage Bruno, seemed to baffle him. "For the Holy Ghost," says the chronicler, "was unwilling that one who was to be a vessel of election of His should even unconsciously be defiled by contact with sacrilege."

¹ "In diversis speciebus thesauros ejus (Toul) et decus valde amplavit, ædificiis quam plurimis decoravit, literalis exercitii personis adimplevit." Wibert, i. c. 2.

² "Cunctorum in se benevolentiam provocabat, quia in eo nihil extollentiæ in eo conspiciebant," etc. *Ib.*, c. 3.

³ Cf. Hanquet, *Étude critique sur la chronique de Saint-Hubert, dite Cantatorium*, Bruxelles.

⁴ Cf. n. (21) to c. 3 of the *Chron.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 154, or *M. G. SS.*, t. viii.

Whilst Heilewide was lost in wonder at the child's embarrassment, it came to her ears that the book belonged to the monastery of St. Hubert, "for under penalty of anathema search was being everywhere made for it." At once, with her little son, did the good lady betake herself to the abbey, and, humbly begging pardon for what she had done in ignorance, she restored the volume to its owners. Nay more, in satisfaction, she made the monks a present of a *sacramentary* (*Liber Sanctorum*).¹

Without pausing to draw the attention of the reader to the number of medieval ways and manners which this pretty story brings to our notice, we will pass on to the second. When Bruno had advanced somewhat in age and in art and in science (in the trivium and the quadrivium), "and his neck had become a little freer from the scholastic yoke," he was allowed, from time to time, to visit his home, to which he was drawn, boy-like, not only by the goodness and affection of those in it, but by the attraction of the soldiers within its walls.² During one of these visits, whilst he was lying asleep "in a charming little bedroom" which his loving mother had prepared for him, some animal³ found its way into the room, fastened itself upon his face, and began to lacerate it. Awaking in terror, the youth uttered a loud shriek, struck the animal from his face, and sprang from his bed. At his cries the servants rushed into the room; but though the animal escaped, it left permanent marks of its baneful presence on Bruno's person. For two months he lay between life and death. At the end of that period, when he had become so weak

¹ *Chron.*, c. 19.

² Wibert, i. c. 5. Bruno had two brothers, but the number of his sisters is uncertain. Brucker, i. p. 29.

³ What animal it was cannot be stated; for "the poisonous frog or toad" of which Wibert speaks is only to be found in the realm of fable—"venenosa illa rana, quæ bufo nuncupatur sive rubeta."

that he had even lost his voice, he saw in a vision St. Benedict, "the most blessed father of the monks," who touched his wounds with a bright cross which he held in his hands. At once the youthful sufferer felt relief, and in a day or two he was himself again. "To this very day, in familiar conversation with his friends, he is wont to recount this evident mark of the Divine favour in his behalf." Those who continue reading the events of his life, concludes Wibert, and see all that he did for the advantage and for the reformation of the monks, will readily understand why his cure came from the hands of St. Benedict rather than from any other saint.

Arrived now at an age (fifteen) when it became necessary for him to think of choosing his career in life, he resolved to embrace the clerical state. Perhaps he had essayed the joys of the world and had found them wanting; for Wibert will not assert¹ that "in this miserable life, which is one long temptation, he at all times lived without sin; for that cannot be asserted of the babe of a day." At any rate he left the episcopal school, and seems to have attached himself to the cathedral of St. Stephen, *i.e.*, as it was then expressed, he became a *canon*, and lived under the rule (*κανών*) of St. Chrodegang of Metz, or, to use the words of St. Peter Damian, speaking of another cathedral cloister, he joined "the white band of clerics shining as bright as the angels' choir. There, as in a school of some heavenly Athens, the young students are instructed in the words of the Sacred Scriptures; there they zealously devote themselves to the study of true philosophy, and there daily exercise themselves under the rule of regular discipline."²

Bruno
becomes a
canon of St
Stephen's
at Toul,
1017.

¹ *Prolog.*

² *Opusc.* 39, c. I. There is no reason, however, for supposing that, though a regular canon, Bruno was a monk. Cf. Delarc, p. 11; Brucker, 61, 393.

On such a sensitive nature as that of Bruno the mere daily sight of the cathedral of Toul, one of the most imposing Christian monuments of France, must have produced a strong and elevating impression. At any rate he made the best use of all the advantages which came in his way, and gave just reason to Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, afterwards Victor III. (1037-1088), to speak of him as a man not only "apostolic in every way, and conspicuous for his religious qualities," but also "endowed with wisdom and thoroughly instructed in every branch of ecclesiastical learning."¹

Is sent to
the court
of King
Conrad II.

Berthold, the enlightened bishop of Toul, died in August 1019, and was succeeded by Herimann of Cologne, whose virtues and vices were those of an upright German martinet. It says much for the sweet character of Bruno that he was able to moderate the fiery zeal of his new bishop. He kept his influence with Herimann, for he obeyed him just as readily as he had obeyed his amiable predecessor; as though, says² Wibert, "he had always before his mental vision that dictum of the Blessed Pope Gregory—Let no one dare to command who has not first learnt to obey, lest he should exact from his subordinates obedience he has never learnt to render to his superiors." His biographer furnishes us with two examples of his influence with the choleric Herimann. One of the monasteries which the latter had favoured was that of Saint-Èvre in his cathedral city. Owing, however, to the calumnies of the jealous, the goodwill of the bishop towards it was changed to dislike, and he became as anxious to injure it as he had once been to bestow benefits upon it. But Bruno, "as he had pity upon those in trouble," exerted himself in the monks' behalf. Whenever he could, he opposed himself to the angry blows of the bishop like "a wall of stone"; and, when resistance

¹ *Dial.*, iii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 149.

² *C.* 6.

was unavailing, he mingled his tears with those of the persecuted monks. For some cause or other, Herimann does not seem to have viewed with favour the college of clerics attached to the cathedral, for we are told that it required all the efforts of Bruno to preserve intact the canonical institution and its revenues, which former bishops of the see had been at great pains to establish and preserve.¹ His close intercourse with his bishop was brought to an end by the death of the Emperor Henry II. (July 14, 1024), and the election of his cousin (Conrad II. of Franconia)² as king of the Germans. Between Henry, the saint and great emperor, who had deserved so well of the empire, and the illiterate³ and warlike Conrad, there was as much difference as between the bishops Berthold and Herimann. But Conrad was their cousin, and so it was decided by Bruno's relatives to send him "to be trained in the king's court, and to serve in his chapel." This decision was quite in keeping with the feudal spirit of the age; for it was customary at this period for the inferior vassals to put their sons under the care of their overlord, that they might be educated with his children, not perhaps so much in literature, as in arms and in the ways of the world. But no doubt, even if Conrad did not, like Charlemagne, maintain a palace school, there would be opportunities for Bruno to continue his studies; for, though the king had

¹ "Ejus etiam annitente auctoritate et industria, in statu, quem ab idoneis et prioribus præsulibus acceperat, integerrime permansit sub Herimanno institutio et præbenda canonica intra beatissimi levitæ . . . Stephani claustra." *Ib.*, c. 6.

² Afterwards the Emperor Conrad I.

³ "Quanquam litteras ignoraret." Wiponis, *Gesta Chron.*, c. 6. Heinricus "scientia namque litterarum strenuissime imbutus . . . Chronradus per omnia litterarum inscius atque idiota." *Chron. Novalic.*, Append., cc. 16, 17. On the good works of Henry II., the Saint, see ep. 93 of Eugenius III. (ap. *P. L.*, t. 180, p. 118), who attributes to him even the conversion of Hungary.

a greater love for the sword than for books, he interested himself in the education of the clergy.

The youthful Bruno quickly made a name for himself by his grace and learning. Among his companions, to mark him out from those who bore the same name as he did, he was known as "the good Bruno,"¹ and was soon the confidant of both the king and the queen. As such, he soon discovered that it was their intention to bestow a rich bishopric upon him; and, fearful lest their affection might lead them to favour him in an exceptional manner, he resolved to accept the first poor one that God might cause to be presented to him.

Military
expedition
into Italy,
1026,

But meanwhile he had other work to do. On the death of the Emperor Henry II., some of the cities of north Italy, anxious, if they had to have a master, to have one as far away and as feeble as possible, had shown a disinclination to accept Conrad, and had offered the Iron Crown to others. But no one was anxious to measure swords with Conrad, who descended upon the plains of Lombardy for the first time in the beginning of the year 1026. With his sovereign went the young deacon² Bruno, in charge of the troops which the bishopric of Toul had to furnish for the king's army. As a feudatory of the empire, Herimann should have marched in person with his troops; but he was old and infirm, and entrusted his contingent to Bruno. During the brief period he was with his soldiers he gave every indication of possessing the qualities which go to make at least a careful commander.

Bruno
bishop.

But he was not destined to remain long "fixing camps, posting sentinels, and acting as commissary." His bishop died in the Lent of this same year (1026), and the

¹ Wibert, *l.c.*

² "Levitico officio insignitus." Wibert, i. 7; *cf.* Muratori, *Annal.*, ix. p. 249

unanimous voice of the clergy and the people of Toul besought the king to send them as Herimann's successor their beloved Bruno. They pointed out to Conrad that, as a border town, their city¹ was fearfully exposed, and that they needed a bishop "whose vigour and energy would keep the enemy from their gates."² And they implored Bruno to take them despite of their poverty. Though the king had destined him for a more elevated appointment, the saint acceded to the people's wishes precisely because their see was comparatively insignificant.

Running no little risk from the hostile Lombard, he contrived to reach France, and then his episcopal city. He was received at Toul with the greatest joy, and was solemnly enthroned on Ascension Day (May 20).³ The throne of marble used on this occasion is still shown in the cathedral.

But though enthroned, Bruno was not yet consecrated. It was Conrad's wish to have him consecrated by the Pope at the same time that he himself received the imperial crown. Naturally enough, when the king's intention was noised abroad, it excited no little jealousy, and his metropolitan, Poppo of Trier, as eager for power as any of the great lay or church lords of his day, declared that he alone had the right to consecrate the bishops of Toul. Loath to be the cause of strife, Bruno succeeded in obtaining leave from Conrad to be consecrated by Poppo. This act of humility caused Poppo to mistake the character of the man with whom he had to deal, and he declared he would not consecrate Bruno until he had solemnly engaged not

¹ It touched Germany, France, and Burgundy.

² Wibert, *ib.*, c. 8. They begged Conrad, "designaret eis pastorem nobilem ac sapientem quam maxime, cujus strenuitas et industria sibi infensam hostium rabiem valeret propulsare."

³ *ib.*, c. 11. By his relative, Theodoric of Metz, "præsentibus cunctis Belgicæ Gallicæ primoribus."

to do anything in his diocese without the express permission of his metropolitan. To such an unlawful demand Bruno would not give his assent, and he left Trier unconsecrated. Conrad, however, on his return from receiving¹ the imperial crown, brought about a compromise. Bruno agreed not to act in important matters without consulting his metropolitan, and was then duly consecrated, September 9, 1027.

Character
of his
episcopate.

For twenty-three years, says Wibert in a chapter of his biography only just printed,² he governed his diocese with vigour, and during all that period enjoyed only four years of comparative peace. The years of quiet were the two at each extremity of his episcopate. If ever, throughout the years of stress, he slipped from the path of justice, we are assured that he was never content "to stand in the way of sinners," but returned to God at once by humility and sorrow. He thought nothing of confessing his faults to his inferiors, and of asking the help of their advice and prayers, with the result that those who saw "his innocence and continency were moved to despise their own lives."³

Diocesan
reform.

To the work of reform—the keynote of his active life—the bishop now devoted himself with renewed zeal. He had already begun the work immediately after his election. Convinced that the monasteries, as centres of peace and

¹ March 26, 1027.

² In the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxvii. (1908) 345 ff. It has been supposed that this chapter was omitted in most of the copies, because it contained the words: "interdum a cœlibatu seu proposito pontificali aberravit," and because, as it was not realised that *cœlibatus* here, as often elsewhere (*cf. ib.*, p. 347), was simply equivalent to *sanctitas*, it was supposed that Wibert meant to convey that the bishop of Toul was occasionally false to his vow of celibacy, and it was thought not desirable to make such a fact public. Another reason for the omission may easily have been that the passage is exceedingly verbose, merely repeating the thoughts we have set forth in the text in a number of different ways.

³ *Ib.*, p. 348.

learning, were the hope of the future both for the Church and for the State, he applied himself to improve their discipline, which, says his biographer, "had for a long time fallen off." He deposed such abbots "as, neglecting the souls committed to their charge, seemed to think that they had been appointed merely to exercise secular power."¹ Monastic foundations begun by his predecessor, he brought to successful completion. But he was careful not to use the resources handed down to him, if they had not been properly acquired. Finding that a widow had a sound claim to certain property which had been acquired by the See of Toul, he ordered it to be restored. "I cannot and ought not to resist the laws," he said.² And with such exceptional elegance of manners and grace of person was he blest, that, as we are told, all he did or said gave general satisfaction.³ He pushed his charities to the verge of indiscretion, and never allowed stress of business to prevent him from personally attending every morning to the wants of the poor. These and the other duties of his state, such as making visitations, attending synods, and the like, he lightened by devoting a little time to musical composition. In him, says the devoted Wibert,⁴ "were conspicuous evidences of his possession of the sciences, both human and

¹ Wibert, i. 11. One of the monasteries which felt his reforming hand was the famous one of Moyenmoutier, among the Vosges Mountains. Cf. *L'abbaye de Moyenmoutier*, by L. Jérôme, Paris, 1902. On its gate and walls was carved the single word *Pax* (peace), the sweet motto of the Benedictine order.

² Cf. the charter of restoration ap. *Gallia Christ.*, xiii., 465, quoted by Brucker, i. 117.

³ *Ib.*, c. 13. In this work of monastic reform, he was much helped by Abbot William of St. Benignus, whom "kings looked on as a father, bishops as a doctor, abbots and monks as an archangel, and all in general as a friend of God and an instrument of salvation," says his wayward disciple and biographer, Raoul Glaber, *Vit. S. Gulielmi Div.*, c. 16.

⁴ *L.c.*

divine ; especially did he excel in the pleasing art of music, so that he was able not merely to equal ancient authors, but in the sweetness of his melodies (*mellifica dulcedine*) even to surpass some of them." To us it is especially interesting to find it recorded that he composed new tunes for the feast of "the venerable Gregory, doctor and apostle of the English,"¹ who was honoured in an abbey of the adjoining diocese of Basel, which was hence known as Münster-in-Gregorienthal. Among the saints in whose honour Bruno exerted his musical talent, besides Gregory, a name best beloved throughout the Middle Ages, there was at least one more connected with the British Isles, viz. the famous Columbanus. According to the historian² of the monastery of Moyaenmoutier, in the year 1044 a monk, afterwards the renowned Cardinal Humbert, composed certain metrical *responsories* for the feast of St. Columbanus, and induced his bishop to set them to music.

Public
affairs.

But Bruno was not destined to pass the long years of his episcopate in peaceful retirement among his fellow-bishops, his priests, the poor, and the Muses. The exigencies of the time and his position forced him to play a conspicuous part in the great events of the day. He had to face not only the terrible famine which afflicted especially France, Italy, and England between the years 1030 and 1033, but the still more awful scourge of war.

Lorraine.

From the time of the creation of the impossible Middle Kingdom by Louis the Pious, and of its subdivision by Lothaire into Lorraine, Burgundy, and Italy, it had proved an apple of discord between the Gauls and the Germans,

¹ Wibert, *l.c.* Cf. *Anon. Zwettlensis*, ap. Pez, *Thesaurus Anecd.*, i. ("Fecit cantus plures dulcis melodiarum"), and other sources, ap. Brucker, i. p. 119.

² John de Bayon, a Dominican who flourished about 1326. *Hist. Med. Mon.*, c. 50.

and was to be the prize of the strongest. The struggle for Lorraine we have seen continued till our own day. Under the Othos it was attached to the empire. The new Capetian dynasty had used it to buy German support. But Conrad had now (1027) reason to believe that Robert the Pious was casting longing eyes on the debatable land. To avoid war he sent Bruno to the French Court. Perhaps he had an easy task, for Robert was, after all, of a pacific disposition. At any rate his mission was completely successful. "France is my witness how satisfactorily he accomplished his embassy; for there men still speak of his wisdom and humility, of his success in his undertakings, of his grace of mind and body, and of his tact in executing his mission. He was loved as a father, and venerated as a saint. So firmly did he establish peace between the two kingdoms, that it was not shaken either during the remaining years of Conrad and Robert, or during the reigns of their sons—Henry I. of France and Henry III. of Germany."¹

But another section of the old Middle Kingdom was to Burgundy. give him more trouble. Rodolf III., the Fainéant, king of Burgundy, died September 6, 1032. Being childless, he had bequeathed his crown to Conrad, the husband of his niece Gisela. The German emperor, however, found himself in presence of a rival, Eudes, or Odo II., the powerful count of Blois and Champagne. Though Conrad was crowned king of Burgundy (February 2, 1033), he had not reduced Eudes to submission. Whenever he was in any difficulty, the count was again in arms. On one occasion Eudes made a determined effort to seize Lorraine; and, understanding that Bruno was in difficulties with some rebellious vassals,² laid siege to Toul, the key of the province. To

¹ Wibert, i. 14.

² *Ib.*, Raoul Glaber, iii. 9, n. 38. Cf. Brucker, i. p. 129 f.

no purpose, however. Bruno's eloquence roused the courage of the inhabitants, and his military skill may have directed their energies. At any rate, Eudes failed to take the city; and, while he died a rebel (November 15, 1037), the kingdom of Burgundy was added "to the Roman Empire by the wisdom and exertions of Bruno."¹ Granting that Wibert in his love and admiration for his hero may have attributed to him a larger share in these important transactions than he actually took, there is no doubt that the part he did take in them shows that he had in him the soul of a warrior and the tact of a diplomatist, as well as the faith and piety of a priest.

Pilgrim-
ages to
Rome.

Another series of important events in the episcopate of our saint was the annual pilgrimage to Rome. It was his great devotion to St. Peter that drew him to the Eternal City, there to pray for his people.² On one of these pilgrimages, when over five hundred clergy and lay people, attracted by his affability and holiness, were in his company, an epidemic, "arising from the dire corruption of the air of Italy," attacked the whole party. So fearful was its strength that the immediate death of all those seized with the disease was expected. Full of trust in God, Bruno touched some wine with the relics of the saints he always carried about with him, and gave it to the sufferers; and we are assured that all who had strength enough left to swallow (*gustare*) the liquid recovered. During the whole journey the bishop said Mass nearly every day, and during it exhorted those present to do penance, and lead a better life. Every night, too, whilst the plague lasted, a number of the pilgrims, and of the people of the country through which they happened to be

¹ Wibert, *l.c.*

² *Ib.*, ii. c. i. "Summa inerat ei devotio, primum Pastorem, Clavigerum coeli, annuo revisere recursum," etc.

passing, came with lights to where the saint was lodging, and, when morning dawned, the sick among them found themselves perfectly restored to health through the merits of the saints and the bishop's prayers. These wonders were soon noised about through all the patrimony of St. Peter (*per cunctas Romaniae partes*), with the result that love and veneration for Bruno were firmly fixed in the hearts of all.

It was whilst he was bishop that he lost his father and his pious mother. No doubt his grief for their loss was tempered as well by long expectation of it as by the reflection that, in accordance with the law of the length of human life, their time had come. But the same cannot be said of his affliction at the premature death of his elder brother, Gerard, "the brave and courteous knight," and of another brother, Hugh, "our heart's sweet solace whilst he lived." Beneath domestic troubles, public calamities, and his unceasing toil for his people, Bruno's health completely broke down. His life was despaired of, not only by his physicians, but by himself and by his sorrowing people. Acting, however, "on a divine impulse," he caused himself to be carried before the altar of St. Blaise at the hour of Matins. There, whilst in an ecstasy, he seemed to see the holy martyr come to him from the altar, and tenderly wash the suffering parts of his body. When Bruno returned to himself, he found that he was quite cured, and he walked back by himself to his room singing, "What god is great like unto our God?"¹

Death of
parents
and
brothers.

In all his trials his great resource, says his biographer, was prayer. Endowed with "the gift of tears," he wept continually whilst at his prayers, or whilst celebrating Mass; for he knew that the sacrifice which pleases God is a contrite heart.²

¹ Wibert, i. 14.

² *Ib.*, 13.

Nominated
to the
Papacy,
1048.

The time had now arrived when Bruno, who had sought the lowest place among bishops, was to be exalted to the highest,¹ and when, with the greatest advantage to it, his talents, his virtues, and his accomplishments were to be placed at the disposal of the Universal Church. According to Wibert, the bishop received no uncertain premonition of the position he was to occupy in the Church. Of two visions which, on the authority of some of his intimate friends who had heard Bruno speak of them, are related by his biographer, we will recount the second. One night, when he had fallen asleep whilst meditating on heavenly things, he seemed to see an old woman, or rather hag, so dirty, bedraggled, and dishevelled was she, who wished to engage in conversation with him. Horror-stricken at her loathsome appearance, Bruno endeavoured to escape from her. She, however, followed him quickly and closely. At length, quite wearied out, the saint turned round, and made the sign of the cross on the creature's face. Instantly she fell to the earth, only to rise again a thing of beauty incomparable. Whilst lost in wonder as to what this could portend, the blessed abbot Odilo appeared to him, and, in response to Bruno's request for an explanation of what he had seen, joyfully replied: "Blessed art thou, for thou hast saved her soul from death." The meaning of the vision, concludes Wibert, cannot be doubtful when we reflect that in various parts of the world the beauty of the Church, or of Christianity, had been terribly defiled, and that it was Bruno who, with the help of Christ, restored it to its former state.² Whether these visions were sent by God, or not, they show, at any rate, if our dreams are images, however blurred, of our waking thoughts, how

¹ He tells us himself that he went "*de Tullensi sede ad omnium sedium primam.*" Ep. 28.

² Wibert, ii. i.

constantly the mind of the bishop of Toul was engaged in reflecting on the Church's needs, and on the best way of satisfying them.

The short reign of Clement II., and the sudden death of Damasus II., terrified the Romans. They feared lest the Black Emperor, Henry III., who had succeeded Conrad, would attribute to them the premature demise of his countrymen. The same causes produced a similar result among the German bishops. Whether they assigned the deaths to the climate, to poison, or to the judgment of God punishing what some of them regarded as the arbitrary deposition of Gregory VI., the bishops of Germany showed a great disinclination to accept the supreme pontificate. "The Romans," said Bonizo,¹ "frightened by the speedy death (of Damasus), and not being able to remain long without a Pontiff, set out for the North, crossed the Alps, reached Saxony, and there (at Pöldhe) finding the king, asked him for a Pope. But as the bishops were unwilling to go to Rome, the matter was not of easy accomplishment. The king, therefore, decided to go to Rhenish Frankland (*Reni Franciam*), trusting to find in the kingdom of Lorraine a bishop whom he might present to the Romans to be made Pope."

To deliberate on the matter, Henry convoked an assembly of bishops and nobles at Worms. Thither, of course, proceeded Bruno; "for nothing of moment was transacted in the imperial court without his advice;"² and thither (*i.e.*, to the city) also went the ever-famous Hildebrand,³ already on fire with desire for the elevation of the Roman Church. The Roman envoys had apparently

¹ *Liber. ad amic.*, v. p. 587, ed. D.

² Wibert, ii. 2.

³ He had come, it is supposed, from Cluny, whither seemingly he had betaken himself on the death of Gregory VI. († at the beginning of 1048). Cf. Bonizo, *l.c.*

an Assembly
at Worms,
Dec. 1048.

been commissioned to ask once more for Halinard, archbishop of Rheims, or for Bruno,¹ both of whom were known and loved by them from their conduct while on pilgrimages to Rome. In some way or other Halinard learnt the wishes of the emperor and the people, and put off his arrival till another had been elected.² No word, however, of what was to happen had reached Bruno;³ and no one was more astonished than he when he found that it was the wish of all, emperor, Germans, and Romans, that he should accept the See of Rome. He at once raised objection after objection, for greatly did he dread responsibility for souls.⁴ No one, however, paid the slightest attention to them, but implored him, by his love for SS. Peter and Paul, to come to the succour of the Roman Church, and not to be afraid to face any dangers for the sake of the faith. He pleaded for a delay of three days, which he passed in fasting and prayer; and then, as a last effort to turn aside the wishes of the assembly, he made, "with torrents of tears," a public confession of the sins of his life. His piety and humility moved to tears the bishops and nobles who heard him. But they loudly declared that God would not allow the child of such tears to perish, and renewed their importunities. At length he yielded so far as to say: "I will go to Rome, and if, of their own accord, its clergy and people choose to elect me for their bishop, I will yield to your desire; but, if not, I shall not regard myself as elected."⁵

¹ "Brunonem . . . Romani ab ultramontanibus partibus expetentes," etc. Leo Ost., *Chron.*, ii. 79.

² *Chron. Divonense*. This chronicle of the abbey of St. Benignus of Dijon, which furnishes us with the *Life* of Halinard, was begun about 1031. Ap. *P. L.*, t. 162. Cf. his *Life*, c. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142.

³ "Illo nihil tale suspicante." Wibert, *l.c.*

⁴ "Officium sacerdotale assumere . . . oneris est magis quam honoris, quippe cui propria curare non sufficiat, nisi et salubriter gesserit aliena." Ep. 59.

⁵ "Ego Romam vado, ibique si clerus et populus sua sponte me sibi

This bold and unexpected declaration of the rights of the people of Rome has so astonished many writers that they think it must have been inspired, and could have had no other author than Hildebrand. This idea, however, does not seem to be borne out by the best authorities; for, according to Bruno of Segni,¹ when the newly-elect asked the monk to accompany him to Rome, he refused, "because," he said, "you wish to take possession of the See of Rome by the power of kings, and not by canonical means." Assured that such was not the case, Hildebrand agreed to accompany him. Evidently, then, the zealous monk was unacquainted with what the bishop had said before the assembly.² Both of them were full of the same thoughts; but drew their ideas, not from one another, but from reflection on the high-handed interference of the German emperors in the affairs of the Church.

With what inner feelings Henry III. listened to this declaration of his saintly relative we can only infer from our knowledge of his ideas as to the extent of his rights over the Church. Wazo, the independent bishop of Liège, might impress upon him: "To the king we owe allegiance, to the Pope obedience"; but the emperor, so far from contenting himself with giving practical demonstrations of what he regarded as his just authority in ecclesiastical affairs, declared that his imperial consecration gave him a pre-eminent right of exacting submission. "Like you," said he to Wazo, "I have been anointed with the holy oil, and the

in Pontificem elegerit, faciam quod rogatis; aliter electionem nullam suscipio." Bruno ap. Watterich, p. 96. Cf. Wibert, *l.c.*

¹ *Ubi supra.*

² Both Bonizo and Otto of Frising mention the interview between Bruno and Hildebrand, but make mistakes both as to the place where it took place, as to the position taken up by Bruno at Worms, and as to his supposed assumption of the papal insignia immediately on his election at that city.

power of commanding has been bestowed on me beyond all others.”¹ Ignoring the meaning of the title both under the emperors at Constantinople, and as understood by Pippin and Charlemagne,² he urged his dignity of *Patricius of the Romans* as though it gave him the right of disposing of the Papacy at will.³ However, despite these exalted ideas of his prerogatives, Henry agreed to the condition laid down by Bruno, who, after spending the Christmas of 1048 in his episcopal city, set out for Rome immediately afterwards. In his train went the Tuscan monk Hildebrand, a very host in himself.⁴ In taking with him to Rome the man by whose prudence and wisdom the Roman Church was one day to be ruled, Leo, we are told, thereby rendered a great service to the Blessed Apostle

¹ “Imperator autem, utpote qui ejusmodi homo esset qui sibi super *Episcopos* potestatem nimis carnaliter, ne dicam ambitiose, quæreretur usurpare: ‘Ego vero,’ inquit ‘similiter saero oleo, data mihi præ ceteris imperandi potestate, sum perunctus.’” *Gesta Ep̃p. Leod.*, in vit. Waz. (c. 28), with whose death this work (ap. *P. L.*, t. 142) of the monk Anselm terminates. He offered it to Hanno, archbishop of Cologne (†1075). Cf. c. 20: “Summo, inquires, pontifici obedientiam, vobis autem debemus fidelitatem, vobis de sæcularibus, illi rationem reddere debemus de his quæ ad divinum officium attinere videntur.”

² “Patricii ita provideant reipublicæ, sicut *patres* filiis.” *Graphia aureæ U. Romæ*, p. 172, ed. Ozanam.

³ At any rate, as we learn from St. Peter Damian’s *Dialogue* on the disputed election of Alexander II. (*Disceptatio synodalis*, opusc. iv., ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, or *M. G. Libelli de lite imp.*, i. p. 80), the patrician dignity of the Emperor Henry III. was put forward to help the pretensions of his son. “Pater domini mei regis (King Henry IV.) piæ m. Heinricus imperator factus est patricius Romanorum (in the Roman synod of 1046), a quibus etiam accepit in electione semper ordinandi pontificis principatum.” Bonizo (*Ad amicum*, v.) says of the Emperor Henry II: “Credidit per patriciatus ordinem se Romanum posse ordinare pontificem,” ad. an. 1046.

⁴ That he went against his will, and under obedience only, is clear from his own words in 1080 at a Roman council: “Vos (SS. Peter and Paul) scitis quia . . . invitus ultra montes cum D. Papa Gregorio abii, sed magis invitus cum D. meo P. Leone ad vestram specialem ecclesiam redii.” Ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.*; *Regist.*, vii. 14 a.

Peter,¹ and, it may be added, attached to himself one in whose judgment he soon learnt to have the most complete trust, and who exerted no little influence on his pontificate.²

Greatly was Bruno cheered on his journey by the hearty reception accorded to him by the people as he moved through France and Italy, and by a heavenly vision. Once, when near the city of Aosta, "he was in an ecstasy; he heard angels singing to an exquisite melody (these words of Jeremias):³ 'I know the thoughts that I think towards you, saith the Lord, thoughts of peace and not of affliction. . . . You shall pray to me, and I will hear you. . . . And I will be found by you, saith the Lord; and I will bring back your captivity.' Reanimated by this sweet consolation, and now feeling sure of the help of God, he made haste to accomplish the rest of his journey."⁴

He traversed north Italy by the Via Æmiliana, then known as the King's High Road (Via Regia), and reached the neighbourhood of Rome in February. The whole city poured out to meet him. To their astonishment the people found him not surrounded with the pomp of martial men, nor clad in the insignia of a Pope, or even of a bishop, but barefoot, habited as a pilgrim, and escorted by a few clerics. But if his bare feet proclaimed his humility, the garb of a pilgrim could not conceal his noble mien; and as the

¹ Bruno of Segni, p. 97; *L. P.*, in vit. Leo. Cf. Delarc, p. 138, n. 1.

² "Is (Leo) . . . talibus ejus studiis talique industria tantum est delectatus, ut illum jam juvenem auricularium sibi a secreto assumeret, pretermisissis plerumque nonnullis amicis et familiaribus suis, solus cum solo colloquium consereret, decernenda queque cum illo examinaret; sicubi vero aliquid aliter ut homo sapiebat, donec id quoque sibi Deus revelaret, ejus premonitione corrigi et emendari predulce et jocundum haberet." So writes Manegold, the holy and learned provost of Marbach (Alsace), who was ordained priest by Urban II., and who became an ardent apologist of Gregory VII. Cf. his *Liber ad Gebehard.*, c. 8, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i.

³ XXIX. 11-14.

⁴ Wibert, ii. 2.

Romans gazed on his fair and handsome face, on his tall figure, and on his imposing carriage, they felt that both a saint and a hero had come to them.¹ Loud and joyous, and chanted in divers tongues,² were the hymns with which they welcomed him to their city.

Bruno is
chosen
Pope.

On the following day both the clergy and the people of Rome betook themselves to St. Peter's. There they were addressed by Bruno, who told them simply that he had hearkened to their embassy, and was, moreover, anxious to conform to the will of the emperor. He had come to Rome to pray, and to take measures for the election of a new Pope.³ Thereupon the bishops and cardinals cried out, as one man, that him and no other would they have for their bishop; and the archdeacon in the customary formula (*de more*) proclaimed: "Blessed Peter has chosen Bruno bishop," while the mass of the clergy and the people repeated the same cry. This was in the early days of February. On its twelfth day he was *consecrated*, i.e., as he was already a bishop, he was solemnly presented with the pallium, and was duly enthroned in the Lateran.⁴ And, as Wibert

¹ The distinction of Bruno's appearance is enhanced by the quaint old French in which it is described: "Cestui Lion estoit moult bel et estoit rouz, et estoit de stature seignorable, et estoit de letre bon maistre." Aimé, or Amatus, iii. 15.

² "In cujus denique laude hinc dulcedo *hebraica*, inde modulatio *græca*, alia parte *latinorum* personabat melodia." Anon. *Benevent.*, p. vc.

³ No doubt he was the less unwilling to offer himself as a candidate that he was convinced, as he afterwards proclaimed in a bull, that the Roman Church itself was at the time suffering from a dearth of great children: "quia jam Romana ecclesia in filiis quos lactaverat, defecerat." Ep. 7. Leo's speech to the Romans is given (c. 2) in his usual barbarous style by the anonymous biographer (*B.*): "Modo autem vobiscum sum. Sicut vobis bene videtur, ita respondite. Tunc universus populus Romanus omnes una voce dixerunt: 'Bene venisti . . . et nos omnes desiderabimus magnum habere pastorem.'"

⁴ With Bonizo *cf.* an anonymous Roman author (ap. Watterich, i. p. 102), and Wibert, *l.c.* The latter tells us that, in his address to the

assures us, he lost no time in endeavouring to imitate the virtues of St. Leo the Great, whose name he assumed.

Anxious as he was to give his undivided attention to the work of reform, more mundane considerations were promptly forced upon his attention. Like his immediate predecessors, he experienced the difficulties which arose from the emptiness of the pontifical treasury, and from the want of any means of refilling it. Despite the enthusiastic reception with which all classes of the Romans had received him, no disposition was shown by them to give him substantial help. Those who had accompanied him on his journey were in the direst straits. They thought of selling part of their wardrobes, and of returning home. In vain did Leo try to dissuade them. They were on the very eve of departing when envoys came from Benevento with presents for the Pope.¹ Its people, it may be remembered, had been excommunicated by Clement II., and were being hard pressed by the Normans, whom the Emperor Henry had urged to harry them. Their necessities were soon to throw them into the arms of the Popes altogether, and it is thought highly probable that, even at this time, they begged Leo to take them under his protection.² At any rate, the gifts which they offered Leo on this occasion enabled him to relieve the wants of his friends; but in doing

Financial
troubles.

Romans, Bruno told the people that he was the choice of the emperor, but said that the election of the Roman clergy and people was of the first importance: "electionem cleri populique canonicali auctoritate aliorum dispositionem præire." It is not at all certain that the blessing and enthronisation of Leo took place on the same day. Cf. Delarc. p. 144 n.

¹ Wibert, ii. 3. Cf. ep. 72.

² Chalandon, *Hist. de la dominat. normande*, i. 126. Cf. the new source, the anon. biographer (*B.*), c. 5, who says that the envoys from Benevento begged the Pope "ut subvenirent et liberarent eos de oppressione Francorum." It is, however, perhaps more probable that the embassy here mentioned came in 1051, and not in 1049.

so, he did not fail to impress upon them the necessity of never distrusting the providence of God.

Troubles
from the
ex-Pope
Theophylactus.

To add to his difficulties arising from shortness of money, Leo was distressed by the warlike operations of the ex-Pontiff Benedict IX. and his party. Rome and its environs were harried in all directions by the adherents of Theophylactus. On the side of Tusculum mischief was wrought by that wicked man himself, with his two brothers, Gregory and Peter; on the side of Tuscany it was the brothers, Counts Gerard of Galera and Girard de Saxo, who terrorised the people; while on the east the same evil work was being carried on by John and Crescentius, the sons of Oddo or Otho, and the people of Tivoli. In their misery the Romans called upon the Pope to rid them of their enemies. But, telling them that he had not come to kill but to vivify, he bade them await the result of the council he was about to hold.

Theophylactus was accordingly summoned to appear before the synod which met in April. But as neither he nor any of his party took the slightest heed of the summons, they were anathematised by the council, and the "whole Roman army" was called to arms. The result of the ensuing engagements was favourable to the cause of Leo, and the ex-Pontiff seems to have been reduced to a state of belligerent helplessness which lasted during the rest of Leo's reign.¹

Hildebrand
in charge
of the offerings in St.
Peter's,

As day by day² the virtues of the new Pope were ever more and more widely noised abroad, not only were crowds

¹ It is only the new source, cc. 3 and 4, which tells us of these warlike efforts of the ex-Pope and his party.

² Henceforth, continues Wibert, the fame of the blessed man spread to the ends of the earth, and was even proclaimed by the animal creation. "Truth telling men" reported that a cock at Benevento frequently cried "Papa Leo"; and "it is said" that in Apulia a dog oft gave forth the words "My God."

drawn to Rome to listen to the words of consolation which fell from his lips, but those who could not come sent him presents in the hope of receiving his blessing.¹ It became necessary, however, for Leo to see to it that all the gifts made to him really reached him; for, while he was in the habit of giving to the poor all those which were, "as in the times of the apostles, actually offered at his feet," others were apparently in the habit of taking for themselves what was placed on the altar of St. Peter. To put a stop to this, if Leo did not make Hildebrand *economus*, steward, or rather treasurer of the Roman Church,² he ordained him sub-deacon, and named him one of the guardians of the altar of St. Peter.³

When he had completed at least some preliminary arrangements for the putting of the temporalities of the Roman Church on a sounder basis,⁴ and had satisfied his devotion by a visit to the Italian "St. Michael's Mount," on

First
synod,
1049.

¹ Among others who sent him presents, the king of Dalmatia (some MSS. say Denmark), Peter Cresimir III., sent him a parrot, which "is said" to have kept repeating during the voyage to Rome, "I go to the Papa." Equally without instruction, as it is also *said*, the bird cried most sweetly "Papa Leo" when it was presented to the Pope. Afterwards, amidst the cares and worries of his office, the good Pope used to find a little relaxation in listening to its cheerful "Papa Leo." Wibert, ii. 4. "Ad Lateranense palatium a diversis populis de toto orbe terrarum confluitur." St. Peter Damian, ep. ii. 1.

² Brucker notes (i. 202 n.), on the authority of the council of Brixen, 1080, that it was only under Nicholas II. that he became *economus*; and hence that Bonizo was mistaken in saying that Leo made him *economus*. Cf. *Acta synod. Brix.*, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 134.

³ Victor, *Dial.*, iii.; Beno, *Gest. Rom. Ecc.*, ii. 9; the latter, of course, declares that Gregory filled his own coffers.

⁴ "Multa sedis Apostolicæ prædia multaque castella, vel a suis prædecessoribus injuste tradita, sive a confinalibus tyrannis seu etiam ab extraneis crudeliter invasa ac possessa, in hujus pristinum ecclesiæ non sine labore redegit." *Anon. Benev.*, ap. Watterich, i. vc. Leo's perpetual anxiety to give, and the poverty of his exchequer, appear in many of his letters. Cf., e.g., Epp. 59, 62. For a while after he became Pope he retained his bishopric of Toul. Cf. Ep. 16.

Mount Gargano, and to Monte Cassino,¹ he began the work of reform to which his life was to be devoted. For he felt that "we have been placed in this episcopal pre-eminence to pluck up and to destroy, as well as to build and plant in the name of the Lord."² At a synod held in the Lateran during Low Week (April 3-8), to which he had invited the bishops of Gaul³ and other countries, besides vainly striving to reconcile Theophylactus, he struck at the two crying evils of the time, simony⁴ and clerical incontinence. Not content with condemning these vices in the abstract, he proceeded at once to depose certain bishops who were stained with the former crime; and men believed that God was visibly working with him, when they saw the bishop of Sutri, who was endeavouring to defend himself by perjury, fall dead before the assembly.⁵ But he was not able to go as far as he wished. A decree had been passed annulling all the ordinations held by simoniacal prelates, which immediately raised a perfect storm in Rome. Leo was assured not only "by a

¹ *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 81. The Pope granted various privileges both to the abbey and to its head (*e.g.*, the use of sandals, gloves, etc., at Mass on the principal feasts).

² Ep. 72.

³ *Chron. S. Benig. Divon.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii. From the fact that Halinard of Lyons was the only French prelate present at this synod, and from the short interval between the Pope's enthronisation and the holding of the council, it has been conjectured that the chronicle is mistaken and that only Italian bishops were summoned to the synod.

⁴ Blessed Andrew of Strum (†1097), in his *Life* of St. John Gualbert (*b.* 993), ap. *P. L.*, t. 146, i. 1, tells us that the saint lived "tempore quo simonica et Nicolaitarum hæreses per Tusciam, et pene per totam Italiam diebus Henrici imperatoris ecclesiam Catholicam in locis plerisque fœdabant." Cf. S. Peter Damian, Epp. ii. 1 and 3 = *Opusc.* 22, and iv. 3 = *Opusc.* 18. In the last-named pamphlet he defines (c. 8) the Nicolaïte heresy: "Unde et clerici uxorati Nicolaitæ vocantur, quoniam a quodam Nicolao, qui hanc dogmatizavit hæresim, hujusmodi vocabulum sortiuntur."

⁵ Wibert, ii. 4.

multitude of Roman priests," but also by several bishops, that, if such a resolution was put in force, there would be no priests to serve the churches, and the faithful would be reduced to despair or indifference. He was, thereupon, forced, as well by necessity as by his natural inclination to mercy, simply to renew the decree of Clement II.¹ Other simoniacal practices² were also condemned, and, to prevent poverty from being pleaded as an excuse, it was decreed that all Christians must be reminded of their duty to pay tithes, "of which in Apulia and other distant countries the memory alone survives."³

In renewing the decrees relative to the celibacy of the clergy, he decreed that the concubines of the Roman clergy should be at once reduced to the condition of slaves to the Lateran Palace.⁴

Of the need of legislation on the subject of the morality of the clergy there is more than proof enough in the letters and other writings of St. Peter Damian. Not only were the canons which required celibacy in the higher clergy very widely set at naught, but even unnatural vices were prevalent among them. On this subject the zealous monk of Fonte Avellana addressed to the Pope a scathing

St. Peter
Damian,
and clerical
purity.

¹ These details from St. Peter Damian (*Opusc.* vi. c. 35 or 37, ap. *M. G. Libel.*, i.) are generally believed to refer to this synod. Cf. *supra*, v. p. 274. Mercy was Leo's motto. Cf. ep. 52.

² E.g., the selling of *altars*. If churches were to be given in fief along with estates, spiritual jurisdiction, signified by the *altar*, was not to be transferred by lay holders of fiefs. Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v. See Delarc, p. 155, n. 2, for another explanation of this selling of "the commendations of altars."

³ Wibert, *l.c.*

⁴ "Leo constituit ut . . . presbyteris prostitutæ extunc et deinceps Lateranensi palatio adjudicarentur ancillæ." St. Pet. Dam., *Opusc.* xviii., c. 7. Cf. Bertholdus, *Chron.*, an. 1049 (ap. *P. L.*, t. 143), and Bonizo, *l.c.* At this synod he also condemned marriages between near relations, especially common among the nobility, who by this means aimed at keeping property in their families. Wibert, *l.c.*

pamphlet,¹ appropriately named *Liber Gomorrhianus*. "Since from the mouth of Truth itself," he begins, "the Apostolic See is known to be the mother of all the Churches,² it is only right that, if any difficulty regarding the cure of souls arise anywhere, recourse should be had to it, as to the mistress and source of heavenly wisdom, so that from that one head the light of ecclesiastical discipline may shine forth, and the whole body of the Church be illuminated by the splendour of Truth." He goes on to say that a criminal and horribly base vice has manifested itself "in our neighbourhood," which, if not checked, will bring down the anger of God on the people. He is ashamed indeed to mention so foul a sin to such holy ears, but "if the physician shrinks from the plague poison, who will take in hand to apply the remedy?" This unnatural vice has spread like a cancer, and has even attacked the clergy. In concluding his preface, the saint urges that such of the latter as are stained with these vices should be promptly deposed. Then, without further introduction, he plunges straight into his unsavoury subject, and in twenty-four short chapters explains the kinds, effects, and remedies³ of crimes against nature. In the twenty-fifth chapter he defends himself for treating of such matters, and would rather with Joseph, who "accused

¹ *Opusc.* vii.

² Such is always the contention of our saint. Cf. Sermon 66, p. 880, ap. *P. L.*, t. 144 : Roma "quæ absque dubio caput est et principalis sedes totius S. Ecclesiæ."

³ How terribly in earnest the saint was, may be readily deduced from the punishments he would have inflicted in the case of certain sins. "Clericus . . . parvulorum insectator, . . . qui aliqua occasione turpi deprehensus fuerit, publice verberetur, et coronam amittat, decalvatusque turpiter sputamentis obliniatur in facie, vinculisque arctatus ferreis, carcerali sex mensibus angustia maceretur, et triduo per hebdomadas singulas ex pane hordeaceo ad vesperam feriat; post hæc aliis sex mensibus sub senioris spiritualis custodia," etc. C. 15.

his brethren to his father of a most wicked crime," be thrown, though innocent, into a pit (Genes. xxvii. 2, 24), than with Heli, who saw the sins of his sons and kept silent, be punished by an angry God (1 Kings iv.). In the next and last chapter he recurs "to thee, most blessed Pope," begs him to give what he has said the support of his authority, and trusts that during his pontificate the Church may recover its former vigour.

At first the Pope approved of the publication of this outspoken denunciation of filthy vice; and his letter of commendation of his beloved son, the hermit Peter, who "had raised the arm of the spirit against obscene licence," figures at the head of the *Liber Gomorrhianus*. He notes that, in connection with those delinquents concerning whom Peter, "moved with holy fury," had written, it is only fitting that there should be a display of apostolic severity. But—and here spoke the characteristic virtue of the man—mercy¹ must season justice. Hence, so far from approving of the drastic measures proposed by St. Peter, he would not (*nos humanius agentes*) even go so far as strict justice and canon law exacted, but would only decree deposition against those clerks who were guilty of the most criminal offences. That this decision was the outcome of a tender heart full of compassion for human weakness, and not of a feeble character, is clear from the energetic words of the next sentence: "If anyone should dare to criticise or carp at this decree of ours, let him know that he is in danger of his order." In conclusion, he rejoices that the

Leo
approves
of the
*Liber
Gomor-
rhianus*.

¹ Mercy and patience were his most characteristic virtues (Wibert, ii. 3), and hence all his bulls bear the motto: "Misericordia Dni: plena est terra." Cf. Bruno, p. 97, ap. Watterich; Amatus and the *Anon. Haserensis*, *ib.*, p. 152. The last-named author, a native of Herrieden, wrote about 1080 a short account of the bishops of Eichstädt from 741–1058, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146, or *M. G. SS.*, vii.

saint "teaches as well by the holy example of his life as by the words of his mouth."

Then
shows less
favour to
its author.

Despite the sanction which Leo had given to the *Liber Gomorrhianus*, no sooner were its contents noised abroad than there arose a storm of indignation against its author. Those whose guilty consciences told them that the work was levelled against them were furious at the way in which they had been denounced. Men with delicate consciences feared that more harm than good would result from such a laying bare of vice. Even moderate men thought that the saint's onslaught was too fierce, and that it would result in the formation of exaggerated ideas as to the spread of the evil. These views were duly impressed upon the Pope. Fearing, accordingly, that he had an ally whose very zeal made him dangerous, he showed himself less favourable to him. It is easy to imagine how this change of front on the part of the Pope, whom he revered so profoundly, must have cut the sensitive soul of Damian. He wrote to the Pope, telling him that he was not surprised that he should have listened to the words of those who had spoken against him, seeing that even David, who was filled with the prophetic spirit, was led, by placing ill-founded confidence in the words of Siba, to wrong Miphiboseth (2 Kings xvi.). But even God Himself is represented (Genes. xviii. 21) as going down to see whether things were as they were said to be or not, to show men that they must have proof before they pass an adverse decision. He prayed Him, if it would be for the good of his soul, to change in his favour the heart of the Pope, which He held in His hand.¹

What effect this respectful but straightforward letter had upon the Pope is not known, but "it is certain that

¹ Ep. i. 4.

Peter Damian only played a very secondary part during the reign of Leo IX."¹

Knowing that the Roman Church was the only force capable of regenerating the world,² and yet realising that owing to the number of unworthy bishops it was well-nigh impossible for its reforming action to reach the people, Leo resolved, in imitation of the Apostles, to carry the truth to them himself.³ Accordingly, "asking the permission of the Romans,"⁴ he set out for the North with Peter, cardinal-deacon, librarian and chancellor of the Apostolic See,⁵ and other distinguished Romans. In Pentecost week salutary measures of reform were impressed on the people of north Italy, where they were sadly needed, by a council at Pavia.⁶

Leo leaves
Rome,
May 1049.

Before the month of June was over Leo had joined the emperor in Saxony; and on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul was received with him by the clergy and nobility with the greatest pomp in Cologne.⁷ Granting to its archbishop and his successors the office of chancellor of the Roman Church, and assigning to them the Church of

Reaches
Germany.

¹ Delarc, p. 166.

² Such is the contention of St. Peter Damian: "Inter hæc ergo tam profunda periclitantis mundi naufragosa discrimina, . . . unicus et singularis portus Romana patet ecclesia: et, ut ita fatear, pauperculi piscatoris est parata sagena, quæ omnes ad se sincere confugientes de procellarum . . . fluctibus eripit," etc. Ep. ii. 1.

³ Cf. Libuin, c. 4. Lambert writes: "Leo . . . propter componendum statum ecclesiarum et pacem Gallis reddendam, Romæ egressus est" (*Ann.*, 1049). Cf. Adam of Bremen, iii. 28; Anselm, *ubi infra*.

⁴ Anselm, ap. Watterich, p. 114. "A Romanis expetita licentia, per quasdam Latii urbes iter agens, in eis multa disponit ecclesiasticæ honestati congrua."

⁵ Diplomas signed by him in different places prove that he was with the Pope. When Anselm (p. 117) speaks of a "Peter, deacon of the Roman Church and *prefect* of the city," as present with Leo, I suspect that it is Peter, the *chancellor* of the Roman Church, that is meant.

⁶ Herman, *ad an.*

⁷ Anselm, Wibert, *ll.cc.*

St. John "at the Latin gate," he betook himself with Henry to Aix-la-Chapelle.

Affairs of
Lorraine.

Here important work awaited him. Already as bishop of Toul¹ he had been employed to bring peace to Lorraine; he was now again called upon to work for its interests. In 1044 had died Gozelon or Gothelon I., duke of Lorraine, a powerful prince who had at one time (1026) defied the might of the Emperor Conrad. Compelled, however, to give way, he became reconciled with his over-lord; and later on, through his good-will, became master of Upper as well as of Lower Lorraine. Gothelon left three sons: one, a younger son, of the same name as himself, a man of no account, who was therefore allowed by the German emperor to succeed to part (Lower Lorraine) of his father's duchy; Frederick, who afterwards became Pope Stephen (IX.) X.; and Godfrey the Bearded,² who, feared for his abilities, was arbitrarily deprived by his suzerain of part of his inheritance. War was the consequence. Forming an alliance with various nobles, such as Thierry of Holland, he first attacked the bishops, the bulwark of the empire against feudal anarchy.³ Already under the ban of the empire, he was excommunicated by the Pope.⁴ Leo took this step not only to help to preserve the integrity of the empire, but also on account of the barbarous manner in which the war was being waged by the rebels. This union of Church

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 34 ff.

² He was the eldest son; †1069. He took (1054) for his second wife Beatrice, the widow of Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, whose daughter was the famous Matilda of Tuscany, the ally of Gregory VII. By her marriage (1069) with the third duke of Lower Lorraine, Godfrey the Hunchback (the son of Godfrey the Bearded), she became the latter's daughter-in-law.

³ Brucker (i. 270) has made some mistakes in his narration of these events. Cf. Delarc, p. 169 f., and especially *Hist. de Belgique*, i. p. 70 f., by Pirenne, Bruxelles, 1902.

⁴ Herm. Contr., ad an.



A Pope (John XIX.) granting a privilege.
(From the *Regesto della chiesa di Tivoli*, twelfth century.)

and State proved too strong for Godfrey. "Fearing the power of the emperor and the excommunication of the Pope, he came to Aix-la-Chapelle to surrender himself. By the intercession of the sovereign Pontiff he succeeded in obtaining the emperor's favour."¹ But the fire he had lighted was not to be easily extinguished; and during the minority which followed the death of the Emperor Henry III., Flanders and other parts of the *Low Countries* became practically independent of the empire.

Granting privileges to monasteries, and consecrating churches as he went along, the Pope now proceeded to Rheims to fulfil an engagement he had made with the abbot of St. Remy. When bishop of Toul, he had promised Herimar, for that was the abbot's name, to make a pilgrimage, "without the comfort of a horse,"² to the shrine of St. Remy, the apostle of France. It might have been thought that his elevation to the See of Rome would prevent his carrying out his undertaking; but Herimar adroitly suggested to him that, if ever the needs of the Church should bring him back to his native place, he could then keep his vow; and, sending him a beautiful drinking-cup,³ hinted that he had a church which stood in need of consecration. Thoroughly appreciating the abbot's delicate tact, Leo hastened to assure him that even if he were not summoned by any wants of the Church, he would return

Leo to go
to Rheims,
1049.

¹ Herm. Contr., ad an.

² We are now following the interesting recital of the monk Anselm.

³ Anselm, towards the close of his narrative, tells how, when this cup had been broken, it became whole again after the Pope had made the sign of the cross over it. He gives as his authorities for the incident, an eye-witness and others who had heard the story from eye-witnesses. Cf. Wibert (ii. 6), who adduces the authority of the archbishop of Besançon, who had "devoutly" stolen the cup; and Bruno of Segni. Desiderius of Monte Cassino alleges the word of Gregory VII. for the story.

to Gaul (*ad Gallias*) and consecrate his basilica for him. But we know from his own writings that the real end of his journey was the reform of the German and Gallican Churches.¹

Accordingly, when he arrived in Germany, Herimar lost no time in going to see him in order to arrange with him about the ceremony he had at heart. It was decided that the Pope should come to Rheims in time to say Mass in St. Mary's on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, September 29; that the translation of the relics of St. Remy should take place on his feast-day (October 1); that the Pope should consecrate the abbatial basilica on October 2; and that he should hold a great synod on the three following days. Herimar had already secured the promise of the French king (Henry I., 1030-1061) that he would, if possible, come himself to the consecration and would convoke the bishops and princes of his kingdom.² Leo, too, when he reached Toul, ordered³ the bishops and abbots of the neighbourhood to attend the synod which was to be held in the basilica of the apostle of the Franks. And he, wrote the Pope, who had taught them the rudiments of their faith would cause it to revivify. Herimar, moreover, on his return had sent letters throughout "France (*Francia*) and the neighbouring provinces, inviting the faithful to come and do honour to their patron saint, and to receive the Pope's blessing."

¹ Ep. 16. "Contigit me fines Galliarum revisere, pro sancta Dei corroboranda religione." Cf. ep. 51: "Dum in illius partibus orbis naufragantem Ecclesiam relevando Gallias tenderemus"; and ep. 28, where, speaking of the synod of Mainz, he says: "Quam pro statu Germanicæ et Gallicanæ Ecclesias disponimus celebrare."

² Anselm, ap. Watterich, i. 115.

³ *Ib.* "Circumjacentium regionum episcopis et abbatibus litteris suæ auctoritatis mandari præcepit ut . . . sibi occurrerent ad synodum celebrandam."

But nothing flows on without encountering obstacles. Difficulties arise. The plans of the good abbot were suddenly checked and seemed likely to come to naught. "The serpent, who from the beginning of the world has ever tried to ruin the human race, resolved to prevent, if possible, the accomplishment of these useful measures."¹ He employed, continues the good monk, certain powerful laymen whose incestuous marriages and other delinquencies would not bear the light, and certain bishops and abbots who, on account of their simoniacal practices, were most averse to being summoned to a synod. These men succeeded in impressing upon King Henry I. that to allow the Pope to assume authority in France would be fatal to his honour; and, ignoring the fact that John VIII. had held a synod at Troyes in 878, assured him that never before had a city of France opened its gates to a Pope for such a purpose as the holding of a council. Besides, at the present time, they urged, the country was too disturbed to allow of the gathering of the great ones in Church and State for any other purpose than that of war.

Carried away by these specious statements, and because he was a notorious simoniac himself,² Henry sent to inform the Pope that the necessities of war prevented his fulfilling his engagements to the abbot of St. Remy and to beg him to defer his visit to France till he should be ready to receive him. But Leo quietly replied that he could not break his engagements, and that, if he found any lovers of religion in the basilica of St. Remy, he would hold the synod with them. The king, however, was obstinate, and, despite the opposition of many, summoning around him his nobles,

¹ Anselm.

² He is fiercely denounced on account of his simony by Cardinal Humbert (*Adv. Simoniac.*, iii. 7, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143), who declares that, despite the reproofs of Popes Leo and Victor, "he is daily becoming worse."

bishops, and abbots, including the crestfallen abbot of St. Remy himself, set out on a military expedition.

Arrival of
the Pope
at Rheims.

Nevertheless, the firmness of the Pope met with at least a partial reward. Herimar was allowed to return; and Anselm, from whose narrative all this is taken, mentions as present at the synod some twenty bishops, not only from Germany and Burgundy, but also from France and England. There were also present fifty abbots. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we learn that two of the abbots were English; and from it too we learn the name of the "bishop from England" spoken of by Anselm, and the object of the presence at the synod of prelates from this island. "King Edward sent thither (to the great synod at Rheims) Bishop Dudoc (of Wells), and Wulfric, abbot of St. Augustine's, and Abbot Elfwine (of Ramsey), that they might make known to him what should be there resolved on for Christendom"¹ and "to render an account of the condition of the Church in England."² And if petty political jealousy failed, at least to some extent, to prevent a very large gathering of bishops at the synod, it failed absolutely to prevent the assembling at Rheims of a huge concourse of people full of the most ardent enthusiasm for the Pope. In a marvellously quick manner, considering the difficulty of communication in the eleventh century, it had become noised abroad, probably through the monasteries, that the Pope was to spend some time at Rheims. As a consequence—we have it on the word of Leo's biographer: "it

¹ *Chron.*, ad ann. 1046, 1050, ed. R. S., i. pp. 395, 310.

² *Chronica W. Thorn*, n. 7, ap. *Decem. SS.*, p. 1784. "Pro negotiis regni et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ responsurus." Thorn goes on to say that Leo was convinced by the replies of Abbot Wulfric that the English were "more innocent" than the other peoples, and, among other privileges granted them in sign of his satisfaction, he decreed that in councils the archbishop of Canterbury was to sit next to the cardinal-bishop of S. Rufina, and the abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury next to the abbot of Monte Cassino. Thorn fl. c. 1307.

is hard to say what a great number of people came from the ends of the earth to see him, Spaniards, Bretons (*Britannorum*), Franks, Irish (*Scotorum*),¹ and English."²

When Leo arrived at the abbey of St. Remy, then outside the city of Rheims, he found an enormous crowd of both clerics and laymen, rich and poor, awaiting him. After a service in the abbey church, concluded by a "vigorous Te Deum," a monster procession was formed, which escorted the Pontiff to the Church of St. Mary in the city. High Mass was there sung by the Pope, after which he was entertained by the archbishop of Rheims in his palace close to the cathedral. Next day (September 30), as the number of people was still on the increase, the Pope had to slip away quietly, in order to get near the monastery, which was now so beset with people, who had come to pray to France's patron saint, "and to see the vicar of St. Peter,"³ that the monks could not carry on their services in the church. Thrice during the day had Leo to preach to fresh crowds of people. All night long they kept watch and ward by torchlight.

On the 1st of October, as arranged, there took place the solemn translation of the relics of St. Remy. For a time the Pope himself, assisted by the archbishops and abbots, carried them on his shoulders; and then, when the antiphon, *Iste est de sublimibus*, burst forth, "how many cheeks were bedewed with tears, how many souls poured forth pious supplications to obtain the patronage of the

¹ It was about this time, if not somewhat before, that the northern part of Great Britain (viz. Pict-land) received its present name of Scotia or Scotland. Hence the *Scots* of Wibert may possibly not have been Irish. Cf. Bellesheim, *Hist. of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, i. 202, 230, and *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 13, by G. T. Stokes.

² Wibert, c. 4.

³ "Eo ducta aviditate cernendi ipsum b. Petri vicarium, post b. enim Remigii captatum suffragium ad hujus summopere inhiabat conspectum." Anselm, p. 119, ed. Watterich.

glorious saint!" When the Pope yielded the relics to others to be carried to the city, there took place an incident which would now be called regrettable, and would be ascribed to very defective police arrangements, but which the piety of our monastic chronicler presents in quite a different light. No sooner had the sacred relics left the abbey church, than the pious enthusiasm of the people broke all bounds. They clapped their hands; they sang aloud the praises of God; they crowded together to get as near as they could to their patron's shrine. The reliquary with its bearers was so pushed first to one side and then another, that it seemed like a ship tossed on human billows. "All this was an expression of deep faith which merited a great recompense. In some it manifested itself even in contempt of death; for, animated by a too lively desire to approach the shrine with the least possible delay, they made an attempt forcibly to push their way through the crowd. But in the surging movement they were overthrown and trampled to death."

When at length the relics were safely laid on the altar of St. Mary's at Rheims, they were there exposed for public veneration all the rest of that day and during the night. On the following day (October 2), whilst the Pope was performing part of the long ceremony of consecrating the abbey church,¹ they were solemnly carried round the city walls and then back to the monastery. Distressed at the disasters of the previous day, and fearful lest they should occur again, Leo had ordered the gates of the basilica to be kept fast shut, so that the relics had to be passed into it through a window. This gave the people an inspiration, and many of them found their way into the church in the same way. At the close of the ceremony the Pope

¹ The nave and the transepts are still standing in much the same state as they were when Leo consecrated them.

gave absolution "to the people who, according to the prescribed form, had made public confession of their sins."¹

The next day (October 3) there was opened the synod of Rheims, and a very dramatic event it proved to be. In the midst of the assembly, which, with the Pope, consisted of twenty-one bishops, some fifty abbots,² and a "very great number" of clergy, were exposed the relics of St. Remy. For, remarked the Pope, if anyone says anything that is unbecoming, the man of God, present by his relics, will make him feel the effect of his power.

The synod
of Rheims.

The real work³ of the synod was very nearly marred by one of those disputes between great churchmen, so common in the Middle Ages. There sprang up what Anselm calls "the old discussion" as to precedence between the archbishops of Trier and of Rheims. But Leo was determined that such a comparatively unimportant question should not then occupy either his own attention or that of the assembly. He ordered the bishops to be arranged round him in a circle. Then arose the deacon Peter, who, saying that the questions which were to occupy their attention were simony, the encroachments of lay patrons of churches, incestuous and adulterous marriages, sodomy and oppression of the poor, called upon the bishops to declare publicly one after another whether they had received or given Holy Orders for money. Some arose at once and declared their innocence in this matter; some most humbly and touchingly confessed their guilt; some

¹ "Deinde populum, secundum institutionis ejus verba publicam de peccatis suis confessionem agentem, absolvit." Anselm, p. 123.

² Among these was the famous abbot Hugh (1049-1109), known as *the Great*, the real founder of the *congregation* of Cluny. The synod lasted for three days.

³ "Leo IX., ob hæreses Simoniacorum et Nicolaitarum a Galiis extirandas, Remis synodum celebrabat," says Rainald, the nephew of the above-mentioned Hugh, in his *Life* of him ap. *P. L.*, t. 159, p. 903. Cf. also the *Life* of Hugh by Hildebert of Le Mans (†1133), *ib.*, p. 866.

begged for delay before giving an answer; and others, as well bishops as abbots (for the same command was laid upon them), remained silent. The archbishop of Besançon, who made an attempt to defend the bishop of Langres, who had been guilty of atrocious crimes, suddenly found himself for the time being utterly unable to continue speaking.¹ "It was certainly the great St. Remy," interjects Anselm, from whom we are still quoting, and to whose full narrative we must refer readers who desire more ample details, "who wrought this prodigy, in recompense for the act of faith which had led the Pope to place his relics in front of the assembly."

The primacy of the bishop of Rome, and the See of Compostela.

Perhaps the most interesting matter discussed by the council was the primacy of the Apostolic See, in relation, apparently, to an assumption of dignity on the part of the *archbishop*² of Compostela. The synod decreed, "under pain of the anathema of the apostolic authority, that if any-one of those present had ever said that any other than the bishop of the Roman See was primate of the Universal Church, he must there and then make public atonement. And when no one acknowledged himself guilty under this head, the decrees of the orthodox Fathers on this subject were read, and it was decreed that the bishop of the Roman See alone was primate of the Universal Church and *apostolicus*."³ This may have been aimed at the patriarch of Constantinople; but when, a little later, we find it stated that the synod "excommunicated the arch-

¹ This he himself acknowledged before the whole assembly.

² So he is called in the acts of the council, ap. Labbe, *Conc.*, ix. 1041. Hence it would appear that the assertion of Meyrick, *The Church in Spain* (*National Church Series*), p. 244, that "the title of archbishop was unknown in Spain until the reconquest of Toledo from the Saracens in the year 1085," is inaccurate.

³ Labbe, *ib.*, 1038. "Declaratum est quod solus Romanæ sedis pontifex universalis ecclesiæ primas esset et apostolicus."

bishop of St. James of Galicia, because he had illegally assumed the title of *apostolicus*,"¹ there cannot be much doubt that the decree was directed against the See of Compostela.

In the beginning of the ninth century, during the reign of Alfonso or Alonzo II. (791-842), known as *the Chaste*, king of Asturias,² there was discovered in the diocese of Iria Flavia (now Padron) the body which was believed to be that of St. James the Greater.³ By the king's orders a church and a residence for the bishop were built where it was found, and thither was transferred the See of Iria.⁴

In the break-up of the Visigothic Church and State

¹ Labbe, p. 1041. "Excommunicatus est etiam S. Jacobi *archiepiscopus* Gallicensis, quia contra fas sibi vindicaret culmen apostolici nominis."

² Sometimes called Oviedo, because he made it the seat of his kingdom.

³ Cf. *supra*, iv. p. 180 f. The body is said to have been discovered by miraculous lights appearing about the place where the sacred remains were lying. Hence from these *lights* in the *field* the name of Compostela is derived by some. Meyrick (*ubi supra*, p. 6, following Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, x. 9, along with Florez, *Espan. Sag.*, t. xix., p. 64 f., ed. 2, following Harduin) says "the most probable explanation of the word (Compostela) is that it is a corruption of Giacomo Apostolo through the provincialism Gia-Com postol, 'the Apostle James'"; but Fuente (*Hist. Eccles. de Esp.*, iii. 119 n.) observes that St. James is never in Spain called Giacomo Postolo, and that the said words are Italian and not Spanish—"nunca se ha llamado en España á Santiago Giacomo Postolo." The name is now supposed to be a diminutive of *composta*, "established," and refers to the citadel (*civitatella*) of the city.

⁴ In confirming this union or transfer, Alfonso III., the Great (866-910), says: "Adjicimus etiam vobis sedem Hiriersem . . . quemadmodum illud habuerunt antecessores vestri D. Theodomirus," etc. This document, ap. Fuente, *l.c.*, p. 457, is dated June 18, 904. Cf. another charter of the same king, *ib.*, p. 495. This charter is a confirmation of one said to have been issued by Alfonso II. in 829. *Ib.*, pp. 120, 278. Urban II. (December 5, 1095, ap. Jaffé, 5601) recognised the transfer. The Church at Compostela, destroyed by the terrible Almanzor (Fuente, *ib.*, 272), was restored by Bermudo II. (982-999).

which followed the invasion of the Saracens in 711, most of the episcopal sees ceased to exist. A precarious succession of bishops was, however, kept up in Toledo, Seville, and Granada, and there were survivals both in the north-east and north-west corners where Spanish independence succeeded in making headway against the Moslems. It is, therefore, not surprising that the bishop of a see which boasted the possession of the body of one who was at once an apostle of our Lord and the apostle of Spain disdained dependence. The better to express his idea of his exalted position, Cresconio of Iria-Compostela (1048-1066), who is described as a man of illustrious birth,¹ assumed the title of *apostolicus*—a title which, in the West, was given only to the Popes. However, the excommunication launched against him at Rheims must have stifled his ambition, for we hear nothing more of the title.² But the craving for enlarged authority was implanted in the hearts of the bishops of Compostela, and it was not satisfied till Calixtus II. made Bishop Didacus (*Diego Pelaez*) a metropolitan³ (1120).

Decrees of
the synod.

Before proceeding to formulate its decrees, the synod excommunicated those bishops who had been summoned to the council and who had neither come to it nor sent their excuses in writing.⁴ Certain nobles, too, were excommunicated for various serious breaches of the marriage laws; and the abbot of Poutières, in the diocese of Langres, was deposed for living so luxuriously that he was unable and

¹ Fuente, *ib.*, p. 396. Meyrick, *Church in Spain*, p. 303, on what authority I know not, calls him "a good soldier, who repelled the Norman ravagers, and fortified Compostela."

² The affair does not seem to have made any stir in Spain. It is not alluded to by Fuente, or even by Meyrick.

³ Jaffé, 6823 ff.

⁴ Anselm shows that the chief of those who had organised opposition to the Pope's coming to France fared badly afterwards.

unwilling to pay the annual tax due to Rome.¹ Possibly in the interests of peace, but certainly because they were related,² the Pope prohibited Baldwin V., count of Flanders, from giving his daughter (Matilda) in marriage to William of Normandy (our *Conqueror*) and the latter from accepting her. Baldwin had already shown himself a rebel against the emperor, and would, of course, be a more formidable foe if allied with William. Leo's prohibition, however, proved vain. Had it not, the course of English history would have been very different, for William Rufus and Henry I. would not have sat upon the throne of our country.

The formal decrees of the synod, of which Anslem has preserved a summary, condemned simony in all its branches, the incontinency of the clergy,³ as also usury and the carrying of arms by the clergy. Some of the sins "which cry to heaven for vengeance," viz. sodomy and oppression of the poor, were also denounced, as were, more-

¹ The abbey had been given to Nicholas I., along with Vezelay, by its founder, Gérard de Roussillon, and had to pay to Rome a pound of silver annually. Cf. *Liber Cens.*, i. p. 190, ed. Fabre.

² Brucker, ii. 23 n. Milo Crispin, who knew well Lanfranc's contemporaries, relates (*In vit. Lanf.*, c. 3, ap. *P. L.*, t. 150) how for a time he incurred the displeasure of William for condemning his marriage with a near relation, the daughter of the count of Flanders. "And so, by the command of the Pope of Rome, Neustria was cut off from Christendom, and put under an interdict." It was through the skill of Lanfranc that the interdict was afterwards removed. Treating of the relationship between William and Matilda, Mr. Rule (*The Life and Times of S. Anselm*, i. 419) notes that William "was in the fifth degree of descent from Duke Rollo, and Matilda was also descended from Duke Rollo through Adela, the wife of her great-grandfather, Hugh Capet."

³ That this was also condemned by the synod may be clearly gathered from the *Lives* of the abbot Hugh by his nephew Raynald (iv. 25), and by Hildebert of Le Mans (ii. 8). Cf. also Ordericus Vitalis (+1142), *Hist. Eccles.*, v. 12, who assures us that henceforth the evil began to decline, though only gradually, for "the priests are still reluctant to give up their concubines and observe celibacy."

over, the "new heretics who had arisen in various parts of Gaul."

The letters of Gregory Magistros, who was commissioned to expel them, show that there were Paulicians in Armenia in this century. With their expulsion from that country some connect the appearance of heretics with Manichæan beliefs in the south of France. But by the discovery¹ of the Paulician liturgy, entitled the *Key of Truth*, it seems to have been made clear that its votaries were rather Adoptionists than Manichees. Whereas the "new heretics" were no doubt the upholders of the doctrines, apparently Manichæan, which had been already condemned at the council of Charroux in Poitou (1027),² and which are obviously akin to those of the Bogomils of Bulgaria. These latter, holding as they did that there were two equal principles, one good and the other bad (God and Satan),³ may certainly be set down as Manichees; and so it is to them that others trace the sectaries to whom Ademar gives that name.

But if it be the fact that Basil, the founder of the Bogomils, was put to death under Alexis Comnenus (†1118), his doctrines can scarcely have spread to Aquitaine in

¹ *The Key of Truth* seems to have been drawn up before the beginning of the ninth century. Mr. Conybeare has given (London, 1898) both its Armenian text and an English translation, as well as the said letters of Gregory. Of this edition it has been said (*The Study of Eccles. Hist.*, by Collins, p. 65, London, 1903) that its author "has so mixed up his own somewhat extravagant theories of the life of the early Church with his account of the Paulicians and his interpretation of the document, that the book is robbed of no small part of its value."

² Ademar of Chabannes (iii. 69) tells of a council "apud Carrofum propter extinguendas hæreses, quæ vulgo a Manicheis disseminabantur." Cf. *ib.*, 49: "Paulo post (c. 1015) exorti sunt per Aquitaniam Manichei," etc. King Robert had caused some of them to be burnt, *ib.*, 59 (cf. Raoul Glaber, iii. 26 ff.); and *ib.*, append, p. 210, ed. Chavanon.

³ Bury's *Gibbon*, Append. 6, vol. vi.

1027. If the "new heretics" were Manichæans, they must be taken as indicating a revival of an old smouldering heresy. A year or two later (1052), we find the emperor hanging "Manichæan heretics" at Goslar.¹

At the conclusion of the synod, after carrying on his own shoulders the relics of St. Remy to the place prepared for them, Leo set out for Mainz to hold another council. The last echo of the synod of Rheims was a papal bull, in which, after recounting what he had done there, the Pope exhorts the people of the whole kingdom of the Franks to pay great devotion to their patron saint.²

From his bulls it is easy to trace the route of the Pope to Mainz. They show him weeping over the ravages of war at Verdun, and consecrating churches at Metz. A contemporary painting at the beginning of a *Vita Leonis*, now preserved at Berne,³ represents the abbot Warin of Metz (*domnus abbas Warinus*) offering a church (*basilica Sancti Arnulfi*) to the Pope (*domn' papa Leo nonus*), and by means of two verses sets forth the fact of its consecration by him:—

"Hoc ut struxit opus Warinus nomine dictus
Contigit ut nonus leo benediceret almus."

On the 19th of October, in presence of the Emperor Henry III.,⁴ the synod of Mainz was brought to a close. Some forty bishops assisted at it. Besides local matters, they occupied themselves with devising remedies for the same great disorders as had been discussed at Rheims.⁵

Although indeed neither simony, which was the vice

¹ Herm. Contr., 1052; Compend. Bernoldi, 1052.

² Ep. 17; cf. 18.

³ MS. 292 of the Coll. Bongars, says Brucker, ii. 45.

⁴ He is called *Second* by the Pope, and signs himself so. Cf. ep. 23, p. 622 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*; Adam of Bremen (iii. 28, 29, p. 580). "*Potentissimus P. Leo pro corrigendis ecclesiæ necessitatibus venit in Germaniam, etc. Symoniaca hæresis et nefanda sacerdotum conjugia olographa synodi manu perpetuo dampnata sunt.*"

Leo on
his way to
Mainz.

The
council of
Mainz,
1049.

principally at first attacked by Leo, nor clerical incontinence was at once crushed by these synods,¹ it is not easy to overestimate the moral effect they produced. The multitude² returned to their homes, and told how the conduct of the greatest bishops had been examined in public by the Pope, how the emperor was acting with him, and how even the hand of God Himself seemed to be visibly supporting the Pontiff³ in his efforts to root out simony. The germs of a strong public opinion against that most corroding vice had been widely sown; the reformation of the eleventh century had received a powerful impetus.

Returns to
Rome.

The synod over, the Pope began his return journey to Rome, making of it a sort of splendid spiritual progress, as he had done when he left it only a few months before. As might have been expected, he passed through his beloved diocese of Toul. Here, as elsewhere, we find him consecrating churches, and exempting monasteries from episcopal jurisdiction, usually exacting in return some suitable acknowledgment. Thus the abbess of Andlau had to send to Rome every year, for the use of the Popes, three pieces of fine linen;⁴ the abbess of Holy Cross at Donauwerd, a chasuble, a gold-embroidered stole, a maniple, and a girdle;⁵ and the abbess of Woffenheim,

¹ Gregory VII. (Ep. ii. 45, ed. Jaffé) calls attention to the fact that no great fruit was produced by them in Germany.

² For at Mainz also there were present a great number of the inferior clergy and of laymen besides the bishops: "*honestorum clericorum atque laicorum religiosorum præsente non parva multitudo.*" Ep. 23.

³ Wibert (ii. 5) tells too how he cast out a devil when at Donauwoerth.

⁴ Ep. 29. "*Præstante nobis et successoribus nostris annualiter tres pannos lineos pontificali usui aptos.*"

⁵ Ep. 32. Here the founder had fixed that the abbess should send to the Pope every year in Lent "*anabolagium, i.e. fanonem, stolam cum auro,*" etc.

the foundation and last resting-place of Leo's parents, "a golden rose of two Roman ounces in weight," "as a memorial of the liberty" he had granted the convent. It had to be sent to Rome eight days before the fourth Sunday in Lent (*Lætare* Sunday), on which day the Popes, says Leo, are wont to carry it.¹

A short digression on so sweet a subject as the rose ^{The Golden Rose.} may perhaps be here allowed. The symmetry of its form, the richness of its colour, and the delicacy of its perfume may well entitle it to be regarded as the queen of the flowers. To it all that is loveliest in mankind is wont to be compared. It should not then come as a surprise to anyone either that the rose was largely used by the pagans in the worship of what they believed to be gods, or that the use of so charming an object for the same purpose was retained by the Church in its services devoted to the honour of the Almighty. Hence we find that in the twelfth century, at least, on the Sunday before that of Pentecost, roses used to be cast from the roofs of the churches on to the congregation below.² Perhaps later this custom was transferred to the day of Pentecost itself,

¹ Ep. 30. This passage is somewhat ambiguous in the original, and seems to have been misunderstood by Delarc, p. 236. The rose had to be sent on the Sunday on which, says Leo, the Introit is: "Oculi mei semper ad Dominum" (*i.e.*, the *third* Sunday), to be carried in procession on the *fourth* Sunday, as was done, as we are expressly told, in the days of Alexander III. (see Boso's *Life* of him, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 438), and as is still done. Indeed, Alexander himself says that the Popes were wont to carry the golden rose, the emblem of Christ, "Ego flos campi, etc," on *Lætare* Sunday. See Jaffé, 10,826. This pretty tax figures in the *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, i. p. 180, and was paid for many ages.

² See the *Ordo Romanus* (n. 61) of Canon Benedict, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1049. "Dominica de Rosa, statio ad Sanctam Mariam Rotundam (the Pantheon), ubi pontifex debet cantare Missam, et in prædicatione dicere de adventu Spiritus S., quia de altitudine templi mittantur rosæ in figura ejusdem Spiritus S."

which explains the origin of the Italian name of *Pasqua rosa*¹ for this festival.² And to this day in Dominican churches roses are blessed and distributed to the people on Rosary Sunday, *i.e.*, the first Sunday in October. That the Roman Church might have an abundant supply of roses for pious purposes, Constantine gave to Pope Mark a "fundus rosarius" (rose farm).³ At some date previous to the pontificate of St. Leo IX., there had been instituted for Mid-Lent Sunday⁴ some ceremony in connection with the rose, in which it was carried in procession by the Pope. In the twelfth century, as we learn from the *Ordo* of Canon Benedict,⁵ the Pope sang High Mass on *Lætare* Sunday in the Church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, "holding in his hand a golden rose, (scented) with musk. After the Gospel he preached about the flower, and showed it to the people, before his regular discourse on the Gospel itself. After Mass he rode on horseback, with his crown upon his head and the rose in his hand, back to the Lateran, and there gave the golden flower to the prefect of the city." Nowadays an artificial rose is blessed in the Sistine chapel,⁶ and, after being incensed, sprinkled with musk and holy water, and anointed with balm, is sent to some distinguished person, who is requested to "accept this mystic rose bedewed with balm and musk, typifying the

¹ Pâque aux roses is the popular name in France for the same festival.

² Cf. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 50; Brucker, ii. p. 80 ff.

³ Cf. the *Life* of Mark, ap. *L. P.*, i. 202.

⁴ Hence called *Dominica rosata* or *Rosæ*. In Italian it is *Dominica d'allegrezza*; for, as the prayer used at the blessing of the Rose notes, the rose is borne in the hand on "this day as a token of spiritual rejoicing."

⁵ Ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, n. 36. He dedicated it to Cardinal Guido, afterwards (1143) Celestine II.

⁶ It is quite uncertain which Pope first instituted the ceremony of blessing the Rose.

sweet odours that should exhale from the good deeds of us all, especially of those in high places." The giving of the "golden rose" to those in high places, in token of the good-will of the Pope, and in recognition of "signal services towards this Apostolic See," can be traced to Urban II., who in 1096, at Tours, bestowed it upon Fulk IV. (Rechin) of Anjou.¹ The last king to receive it in this country was Henry VIII., to whom it was granted by Pope Clement VII., who noted: "I see too that on account of its charming properties the rose is the glorious symbol of England."²

The rose sent to Henry is thus quaintly described by Stow:³ "This tree was forged of fine gold, and wrought with branch leaves, and flowers, resembling roses, set in a pot of gold, which pot had three feet of an antique fashion of measure half a pint. In the uppermost rose was a fair sapphire, loup pierced, the bigness of an acorn. The tree was of height half an English yard, and in breadth a foot."

Not unnaturally the shape of the "golden rose" was not always the same. I have seen the one which was given by Clement V. at the beginning of the fourteenth

¹ This we learn from Fulk himself, who was the author of an *Historiæ Andegavensis fragmentum*, ap. Marchegay et Salmon, *Chron. des comtes d'Anjou*, p. 381. "Mihi florem aureum quem in manu gerebat donavit (Urban), quem ego etiam, ob memoriam et amorem illius in Osanna semper mihi meisque successoribus deferendum constitui."

² Cf. an article on *The Gifts of a Pontiff*, by Dowling, in the *Dublin Rev.* of 1894, p. 69, from which much of the above is extracted; and see also a rare book quoted by him, *La rosa d'Oro pontificia*, by Carlo Cartari, Rome, 1681, and also *The Goldsmiths of Rome under the Papal Authority*, by S. J. A. Churchill. It is the second paper in vol. iv. of the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, London, 1907. The bibliography there given contains many references to books on the Golden Rose.

³ Quoted (p. 30) in the rare, privately printed (1860) book of Sir Charles Young, entitled *Ornaments and Gifts Consecrated by the Roman Pontiffs*.

century to the prince-bishop of Basle. It is in that most interesting museum in Paris known as the Musée de Cluny, and is really a little golden bush, with a full-blown rose on the highest stem, and with five others on different stems in divers stages of development.

Leo a just
patron of
the monks.

These grants of privilege, of which mention has just been made, and very many others which Leo issued, but which want of space compels us to leave unnoticed, show that throughout all his pontificate he was, though not a monk himself, a great patron of monks and nuns. Justly did he regard them as the guardians of virtue and of learning, and as the helpers and protectors of the poor.¹ He looked to the example of their quiet but ceaseless toil, of their sweet and tender piety, of the purity of their lives, of their boundless hospitality, and of their essentially peaceful careers to serve as a powerful auxiliary in his attempts to reform an idle, selfish, impure, and bellicose world.

But though he was ever endeavouring to increase their numbers, their prosperity, and their influence, he was careful not to be a partner to any of their shortcomings. And so, when it was reported to him that some of them went about with the object of inducing men to bestow all their charities on religious houses to the detriment of their parish churches, he ordained that such, at least, as contemplated becoming monks (*ut quicumque . . . in monasterio se converti voluerint*) should give half of what they intended to give to the Church to which they belonged, and that they might then enter any monastery they pleased. He approved of what the monks did "out of love," but not what they were trying to do "out of greed."²

The See of
Bremen to
be a
patriar-
chate.

Before he left the North, the subject of Christianity in the Scandinavian countries came up for discussion between him and Adalbert of Bremen.³ In the course of the

¹ Cf. *ep.* 1, 50, 54, etc.

² *Ep.* 66

³ Cf. *supra*, v. p. 262 f.

tenth century Christianity was established in Norway. This had been effected by missionaries from Sweden and Denmark, countries which had profited by the labours of St. Ansgar, from the archiepiscopal See of Bremen, under the spiritual jurisdiction of which the Popes had long ago placed all the Scandinavian countries, and particularly from this country, where some of its rulers had been educated and baptised. The swords of the two Olafs were the final factors in the work. During the interval which elapsed between the time when Harold Fairhair (863-934) made Norway one kingdom under one ruler, and when Olaf II., the saint (1015-1030), organised the Church in Norway, there were frequent struggles between the three Scandinavian kingdoms; and Norway was occasionally for a brief space subject to the crown of Denmark. But under Magnus the Good, the son of Olaf II., the situation was reversed, and Denmark was, for a few years (1044-1047), united to the more northern kingdom. On the death of Magnus (1047), however, the two countries were again divided; and a fierce struggle for supremacy was commenced between Harold Hardrada (1047-1066), king of Norway, a name with which our own history renders us familiar, and Sweyn¹ (or Svend) II., known as *Ulfsson* from his father, or as *Estrithson* from his mother (1048-1075). To render his independence still more secure, Sweyn desired to have the bishops of his kingdom subject to a Danish metropolitan, and not to the German archbishop of Bremen. He, accordingly, made known his wishes to the Pope. It was this very intelligible attempt on the part of Sweyn that roused Adalbert to try to get

¹ Cf. *The Hist. of the Church and State in Norway*, by Wilson. Sweyn was one of the kings with whom St. Gregory VII. corresponded, and as one of his letters (ep., ii. 75) to him is dated April 17, 1075, he cannot have died in 1074, as *L'art de verif. les dates* states.

himself made a patriarch.¹ He realised at once that the other Scandinavian kings would follow the example of Sweyn, and he saw that the Dane's request was entertained by the Pope,² and that, too, although the king was not very favourably known to him, as he had had to bring pressure to bear upon him, to make him put away a near relative he had taken to wife.³ The only way to save the honourable position of his see was to have it endowed with patriarchal rights over the various metropolitan sees which he foresaw would soon come into existence, and which he knew would otherwise become wholly independent of Bremen. As he no doubt feared that the good-will which the Pope entertained towards him might not carry him to the desired lengths, he unwillingly agreed to the establishment of an archiepiscopal see in Denmark,

¹ "Metropolitanus (Adalbert), igitur, his rerum successibus elatus, et quod papam vel cæsarem suæ voluntati pronos videret, multo studio laboravit in Hammaburg patriarchatum constituere. Ad quam intentionem primo ductus est ea necessitate, quoniam rex Danorum . . . desideravit in regno suo fieri archiespiscopatum." Adam. Brem., iii., 32 (34).

² "Quod tamen ut perficeretur, ex auctoritate sedis apostolicæ, convenientibus canonum decretis prope sancitum est, sola expectabatur sententia nostri pontificis." *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*, c. 11 (12). What good the Pope wrought may be gathered from what follows: "Mox ut consobrinam a se dimisit, alias itemque alias uxores et concubinas assumpsit!" On the contrary side, as a result of Leo's action in condemning unlawful marriages, we have the Abbaye aux Hommes and the Abbaye aux Dames at Caen. William, duke of Normandy, the *Conqueror*, had married Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V., count of Flanders. She was the grand-daughter of Duke Richard II., the father of Robert, whose bastard son William was. He had married without a dispensation. Leo excommunicated him and put Normandy under an interdict. William and Matilda afterwards made satisfaction by building the two fine churches just mentioned. "Auctoritate Romani papæ tota Neustria fuerat ab officio Christianitatis suspensa et interdicta," wrote Milo Crispin (c. 3) in his *Vita Lanfranci*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 150. Milo was a monk of Bec towards the end of the eleventh century. Cf. *Lanfranc*, p. 70 f., by Crozals, Paris, 1877.

on condition that "Rome would grant him patriarchal honours."¹ The deaths of Pope Leo and the Emperor Henry in the midst of the protracted negotiations on the subject, and the struggle between the Church and the empire which followed on them, caused the matter to drop for a time. But in the end Denmark gained the day; and Paschal II., in 1104, constituted Lund in Skaane (south Sweden), then belonging to that kingdom, the metropolitan see of the North.²

Wild and weird must have seemed to the Pope the stories which Adalbert had to tell him of the countries which his genius proposed to weld into a northern patriarchate, and of the men who peopled them. He must have told him of Iceland, a land where there was a mid-night sun, a land of snow and fire; of Greenland, a most inhospitable shore, but blessed with an attractive name. For its wily discoverer, Eric the Red, argued, when he "went to settle that land which he had found and which he called Greenland, that many men would desire to visit it if he gave it a good name."³ And, strangest of all, he

The
Orkneys.

¹ "Quam rem ille, si patriarchatus honor sibi et ecclesiæ suæ Romanis privilegiis concederetur, fore ut consentiret, promisit, quamlibet invitatus." Adam., *ib.*, c. 32.

² Jaffé, 5994 (4472). Cf. *Chron. Epp. Lund.*, ap. Langebekk, *SS. R. Dan.*, vi. Some fifty years later (1152) our own Nicholas Breakspeare was sent to establish a separate metropolitan church (Nidaros, now Trondhjem) for Norway; and about the same time (viz. in 1164) Alexander III. made Upsala the metropolitan see for Sweden. Jaffé, 11,047, 11,048.

³ *Landnama Bok*, ii. 14; Ellwood's trans. On this interesting work see Appendix I. "That summer (c. 986) Eric (the Red) went to settle that land which he had found; this took place fifteen years before the Christian faith was made law in Iceland." *Land. Bok*, ii. 14; *Scheda*, c. 6; *Ice. Annals*, 986. Christianity was introduced into it by the efforts of Olaf Triggvesson (*Kristni Saga*, c. 11, p. 83, and Snorri, *Saga*, vi. cc. 93 and 104). An episcopal see was established at Gardar in Greenland, of which its first known bishop, Eric, went in search of Vinland (America) in 1121, and of which fifteen occupants are known.

must have told him of a land far away to the West, "which is called Vinland, because vines grow there wild, producing excellent wine, and (where) fruit abounds which has not been planted."¹ He must have told him of all these lands, for there had long been Christians in all of them, and he himself, at the request of distant Iceland and Greenland, had sent preachers there.² He must also have told him of the men who inhabited them—men whose home was on the sea, "who never slept beneath the sooty roof timbers," who ever lusted for battle, and whose one dread was lest they "might come to die of old age, within doors, upon a bed of straw."³

One such sea-king at least stood before Leo IX. Among

In the fifteenth century the descendants of the Red Eric's settlers all perished by famine, plague, cold, and the Esquimaux; and Greenland had to be rediscovered in the eighteenth century! The Norsemen of Vinland—no doubt finally annihilated by the Indians—were subject ecclesiastically to Gardar.

¹ Adam of Bremen, *Gest. PP.*, iv. 38. He assures us he is not relating fables, but what he has learnt on sound authority, "certa comperimus relatione Danorum." Of course it is well known now that the Norsemen discovered north America at the end of the tenth century, and at the beginning of the eleventh. Cf. the *Landnama Bok*, iii. 10, with Ellwood's note, and the *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturleson, Laing's trans. (London, 1844), i. pp. 154-187, and iii. append. They would seem to have discovered south America also. Hence in the *Landnama Bok*, ii. 22, we read of Ari, "who was drifted over the Ocean to Whitemen's-land, which some call Ireland the Great (south America?), and lies west away in the Ocean nigh to Vineland the Good; thither men hold that there is six days' sailing from Ireland due west. Ari could not get back from this country, and there he was christened. This tale was first told by Hrafn, the Limerick trader, who had spent a long time in Limerick." Irish sagas also tell of the discoveries of the Norsemen. De Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 208 f., has collected much interesting evidence, historical and ethnological, regarding the settlements of the Norsemen in America.

² "Inter quos (Northern peoples) extremi venerant Islani, Gronlani, . . . legati, petentes ut illuc prædicatores dirigeret; quod et statim fecit." Adam, iii. 70.

³ Cf. *Heimskringla*, Saga i. c. 34, and iii. c. 9.

the Orkneys is an island, now from its superior size known as the Mainland, but to the Norsemen of old as Hrossey or Horse Island. Close to it is an islet (Birsay) which at low tide is joined to it. On this small spot of ground are pointed out the ruins of the castle of Earl (jarl) Thorfinn, of whom "it is soothly said, that he has been the most powerful of all the Orkney earls."¹ To show the extent of his sway, his biographer quotes Arnon earlskald:—

"All the way from Tuskar-skerry,
Down to Dublin, hosts obeyed him,
Royal Thorfinn, raven-feeder ;
True I tell how liegemen loved him."

This formidable chieftain became sole ruler of the Orkneys in 1046; and, after visiting Harold Hardrada of Norway, Sweyn of Denmark, and the Kaiser Henry, "fared to Rome and saw the Pope² there, and there he took absolution from him for all his misdeeds." Though Leo had been a soldier himself, he must have been shocked at what the sea-king had to tell him of his burnings and his slaughterings. However, with all the earnestness of his saintly soul he exhorted the earl to a better life. His words were not lost on the brave heart of Thorfinn. "The earl turned thence to his journey home, and he came back safe and sound into his realm; and that journey was most famous. Then the earl sat down quietly and kept peace over all his

¹ So runs (c. 38) what is practically the saga of Thorfinn's life, viz. the *Iarla Saga*, which forms one of the collection of pieces which goes by the name of the *Orkneyinga Saga*. This, as a whole, was edited in the thirteenth century, and has been published both in Icelandic and English in the *Rolls Series*. The *Iarla Saga* doubtless dates from the preceding century.

² If it be correct that Sweyn did not ascend the throne of Denmark till 1048, then it is no doubt correct to say that it was to Pope Leo IX. that Thorfinn presented himself. However, it is to be noted that the *Icelandic Annals*, ap. Vigfusson, *Sturlunga Saga*, ii., 353, give 1047 as the year of his accession.

realm. Then he left off warfare; then he turned his mind to ruling the people and the land, and to lawgiving. He sate almost always in Birsay, and let them build there Christchurch, a splendid minster. There, first, was set up a bishop's seat in the Orkneys."¹ And although, says Adam of Bremen,² "they had before been ruled by English or Irish bishops,³ our primate (Adalbert), by command of the Pope, consecrated Thorulf, bishop of Blascona (Bersay?), to take charge of all of them."

Iceland.

The most interesting country of which Adalbert⁴ must have spoken to Leo was Iceland, the home of Scandinavian history, a country of the early origin of which there are extant authentic records⁵ second to none in dramatic interest. The first men to take up their abode in Iceland were certain Irish monks or hermits. "Before Iceland was peopled from Norway," writes Ari⁶ (†1148), the *Bede* of Iceland, "there were in it men whom the Northmen call Papar (fathers); they were Christian men, and it is held

¹ Earl's Saga, c. 37, in vol. iii. of the Icelandic Sagas, Rolls Series.

² *Gest. Pont.*, iv. 34.

³ The Irish bishops (Scotorum epp.) naturally claimed jurisdiction over them, because, as we learn from Dicuil, the Irish ninth-century geographer, many Irish monks had retired thither; "while the archbishops of York made the same claim in right of their supposed jurisdiction over the whole of northern Britain." Both York and Hamburg seem to have consecrated bishops for the Orkneys for sometime. Pope Hadrian IV. ended the rivalry by subjecting them to Nidaros. Cf. *Hist. of Cath. Church of Scotland* (i. 262), by Bellesheim. When the Orkneys ceased to belong to Norway, they came under the jurisdiction of St. Andrews in Scotland (1472). Cf. Wilson, *Church and State in Norway*, p. 287.

⁴ For at one time he hoped "in ultima Island obire mereretur." Adam, iii. 69.

⁵ For an account of them see Appendix II.

⁶ In his preface to his *Landnama Bok*. Dicuil, an Irish geographer (825), gives in his *Liber de mensura Orb. Terræ*, ed. Valckenaer, Paris, 1807, details of Iceland on the authority of some Irish ecclesiastics who had dwelt there, and to whom he had spoken. Cf. *Recherches sur le livre 'De mensura etc.'* by Letronne, Paris, 1814

that they must have come over sea from the West, for there were found left by them Irish books, bells, etc." But, discovered accidentally in the second half of the ninth century by the Norsemen (c. 861), it was colonised soon after by many of their best families. Only the most uncompromising love of personal independence could have induced the jarls of Norway to go and live in such a desolate region as Iceland. But at the time of which we are speaking there was a king (Harold Fairhair, 863-934) in the land who was resolved to be king in fact as well as in name. The sort of man he was is well set forth in the contemporary *Ravensong* about him by Horncliffe:¹—

"Out at sea he will drink Yule if he may have his will,
That eager prince, and play Frey's game.
From his youth up he loathed the fire-cauldron, and sitting by the
hearth,
The warm corner, and the cushion full of down."

A typical example of his doings will show his method of effecting his purpose and its results. "He sent Thororm, his kinsman, to claim taxes from Asgrim, but he yielded none; so the king sent Thororm a second time for his head, and then he slew Asgrim. At that time Thorstein, the son of Asgrim, was out on Viking journeys. . . . Some time afterwards he came back from the wars and laid his ship against Thruma (where Thororm lived) and burnt Thororm in his house, together with his household; the stock he cut down and sold the chattels. Whereupon he went to Iceland."² Some of the earliest settlers and their slaves were Christians, for the most part probably of the type of Helgi, who "was very shifty in his faith; he believed in Christ, but made vows to Thor for seafaring and hardy deeds."³ . . . Some of these," continues Ari,⁴

¹ Cited Elton's Eng. trans. of Saxo Gram., p. lxxiii.

² *Landnama Bok*, v. c. 7.

³ *Land. Bok*, ii. 12.

⁴ *Ib.*, v. 15.

"held faithfully to their belief unto the day of their death; but in few cases¹ did this pass on from parents to children, for the sons of some of these reared temples and did sacrifices, and wholly heathen the land remained for well-nigh a hundred and twenty winters (861-981)." At the end of that period a sea-rover, Thorvald, brought a Saxon bishop, Frederick, to preach Christianity in Iceland.² The good that the bishop effected (981-986) was undone by the violence of Thorvald, and he returned to Saxony in despair.

As well-meaning as Thorvald, but as violent, was the next³ notable preacher of Christianity in Iceland. "When Olaf Triggvesson had been two years king of Norway," writes Snorri,⁴ "there was a Saxon priest⁵ in his house called Thangbrand, a passionate, ungovernable man, and a great man-slayer; but he was a good scholar and a clever man. The king would not have him in his house on account of his misdeeds, but gave him the errand to go to Iceland and bring that land to the Christian faith." He had as companion the Icelander Gudlief, who is also set down as "a great man-slayer." Whatever else was wanting to these two preachers of the Gospel, they had energy and the courage of their convictions. By the strength of their right arms, and of their arguments, and by biting satire

¹ One is given in *Nial's Saga*, c. 97.

² *Kristni Saga*, cc. 1-4. I have seen it stated that in *Thorvald's Saga* (published ap. *Biskupa Sögur*), which I have not been able to examine, his Viking methods of preaching the faith (c. 980-984) are well contrasted with the Christian meekness of the bishop.

³ King Olaf Triggvesson of Norway had sent him over to Iceland in 986, but he had had to quit it next year in accordance with a decree of the Althing (the general assembly of the Icelanders), as he had been accused of contempt of the gods.

⁴ *Saga* vi. c. 30; Laing's *Heimskringla*, i. 442. Cf. *Kristni Saga*, c. 7; and Ari's *Libellus*, or *Scheda* (as it is called in the ed. of 1733, the one here cited), c. 7.

⁵ The *Niala* (c. 96) calls him a son of Count Willibald of Saxony.

and invective, they soon had the whole island in a blaze of excitement. Blows¹ were given and taken, lampoons were freely exchanged, and if many were embittered against Christianity, many embraced it. A civil war was averted only by the whole question's being referred to the Althing or Parliament.

Of what took place at the famous Althing of the year 1000 we have the most graphic details. The Christians marched in a body to the Law-mound with crosses and incense, and earnestly explained their faith. Unable to gainsay them, the pagans proposed that two men from each quarter should be sacrificed to stop the spread of Christianity. Not to be outdone, two of the Christians, Gisur and Hjalti, made this startling proposal: "Let us select, on our side, some of our most worthy men, whom we may truly call victims to our Lord Jesus Christ, that so we may live more blamelessly. Gisur and I offer ourselves as victims for our province."² Others at once

¹ *Nial's Saga*, c. 97. A certain Thorkell "spoke most against the faith, and challenged Thangbrand to a single combat. Then Thangbrand bore a rood-cross (crucifix) before his shield, and the end of their combat was that Thangbrand won the day and slew Thorkell." C. 98. "Gudliof now searches for Sorcerer-Hedinn (who had formed a plot to kill Thangbrand and all his company) . . . and got within spear-shot of him, and shoots a spear at him and through him." Weatherlid (or Vetrildi) the Scald (bard) ventured to lampoon Gudliof and Thangbrand. They slew him. *Land. Bok*, v. 3; *Nial's S.*, cc. 98 and 99, which mentions two other "men-slayings" by them. The nature of the lampoons may be gathered from one which Hjalti, a convert of Thangbrand, was bold enough to recite at the Althing. "Nolo ego idola," etc., *Scheda*, c. 7, which Sir W. Scott rendered thus from the *Eyrbyggja Saga*:—

"I will not serve an idol log
For one; I care not which,
But either Odin is a dog,
Or Freya is a bitch."

Dasent renders this somewhat differently from the *Niala*, c. 98.

² *Kristni Saga*, c. 11, p. 94.

offered themselves from the other quarters. Then it was suggested that pagans and Christians should live apart, each party under its own laws, and such an uproar arose "on the Hill of Laws that no man could hear another's voice." In the midst of this confusion, a messenger came running to tell the assembly that the subterranean fires had broken out, and were pouring forth their fiery cinders. "No wonder," quoth the pagans, "that the gods are angry at language such as we have had to hear." "But what," quickly retorted a pontiff-chief, "made the gods angry when the ashes on which we stand were all aglow?"¹ That, all well knew, must have been when the soil of Iceland was as yet untrodden by the foot of man. The pagans were silenced, but not convinced, and all hope of peace seemed lost, when the *Law-man*, Thorgeir, proposed a compromise. All were to be baptised, but might be allowed to expose children, and eat horse-flesh. Sacrifice might be offered to the gods in private, but if witnesses convicted anyone of so doing, he was to be exiled. The compromise was accepted, and "it is certain that these and other evil pagan customs were abolished after a few winters," concludes Ari the Learned.²

As then Christianity had been established by law in Iceland some fifty years before Leo came to the throne

¹ *Kristni Saga*, c. 11, p. 91.

² *Scheda*, c. 7, pp. 45-47; *Kristni S.*, p. 97. In *Nial's S.*, c. 101, a work of later times, the conditions are stated, no doubt wrongly, as much less favourable to the pagans. I have gone into these details at perhaps unjustifiable length, because they have ever appeared to me of fascinating interest, and because they seem but little known. I am only acquainted with one English production on the subject, viz. an article in the January number (1901) of the *Saga Book* of the Viking Club, by Eiríkr Magnússon. The paper seems to me to be somewhat dull, as there is too much of the modern writer and too little of the Saga in it. This establishment of Christianity by law is briefly alluded to in the Icelandic annals in language which is decidedly English, ad an. 1000. "Cristní í log tekin á Íslandi."

of Peter, there cannot be a doubt that Adalbert, who was destined to consecrate (c. 1055) the first native Icclander, Isleif by name, for a definite see (Skalholt) in Iceland,¹ spoke to him on the ecclesiastical affairs both of that country and of Greenland. For he had already sent missionaries to both those places. "So affable was he," wrote Adam of Bremen,² "so bountiful, so hospitable, so anxious to stand well in the eyes both of God and man, that men, especially of the North, eagerly drew to his side. Among them came envoys from the remotest coasts, Icelanders, Greenlanders, and men from the Orkneys, to beg that he would send them preachers of the faith. This he did."

At any rate, whether Adalbert did or did not speak to ^{Isleif and} the Pope about Iceland, it is certain that an Icclander did. ^{Leo.} When the Icelandic priest Isleif (or Islaf) had reached his fiftieth year, we are told that "he was bidden to go abroad, and was chosen bishop by the whole commonweal in Iceland. Then he went abroad and southward to Saxland, and went to see the Emperor Henry Conradson, and gave him a white bear that had come from Greenland, and this beast was the greatest treasure, and the emperor gave Isleif his writ with his seal to go over all his dominions. Then he went to see Pope Leo. And the Pope sent his writ to Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, that he should give Isleif the consecration of a bishop on Whit Sunday; and the Pope said that he was in hope that by God's grace this bishopric should be a long-enduring office, if the first bishop were consecrated to Iceland on the day in which God

¹ Again, in words sufficiently English, we read in the *Ice. Ann.*, sub an. 1056: "Isleif b'p vígdr til Skalaholtz (af) Adalberto erchib'p í Brímum. Hann var fyrstr vígdr b'p til Islandz." Cf. *Scheda*, c. 7, p. 55, and *Kristni S.*, p. 107.

² III. 23; cf. 24. "Tunc pontifex noster in Suigiam vel Norvegium et in insulas maris ad messem dominicam operarios misit."

blessed the whole world with the gift of the Holy Ghost. And Isleif was consecrated bishop on that day according to the Pope's command (*at bothe páva*, at the Pope's bidding) by Adalbert, archbishop in Bremen, fourteen nights before Columba's Mass-day (May 26, 1056?). And the archbishop gave him all the insignia that he needed to have with the office of a bishop, according as the Pope and the emperor sent him word."¹

It may, then, be taken for granted that the Icelanders were acquainted with the position and authority of the Pope in the Church. Their annals, it may be noted, had already begun to enter their names,² and they tell how their second native bishop of Skalholt, Gizur, was consecrated (c. 1080) by Hardvig, archbishop of Magdeburg, "at the command of Gregory VII."³

Bull of Leo IX. concerning the northern nations.

Though, as we have seen, Leo did not raise the See of Bremen to the dignity of a patriarchate, as the large-minded ambition of its prelate desired, he issued a bull confirming its privileges in the style of his predecessors from the time of the establishment of the See of Hamburg by Gregory IV.,⁴ and of its transfer to Bremen under Nicholas I.⁵ Although objections are urged against the

¹ From the book of *The Lives of the Bishops*, known as *Hunger-waker* (*Hungrvaca*), c. 1, ap. *Origines Islandicæ*, ed. Powel and Vigfusson, i. p. 428, London, 1905. The author of this book was a member of Bishop Paul's household (†1211), and relied chiefly on the recollections of Gizor Hallsson (†aged c. eighty-two in 1206), who had seen and known all the bishops of Iceland up to his time except two.

² Sub ann. 1012 and 1045.

³ "Jussu (at ráði) Gregorii Papæ." *Ice. Annals*, an. 1082, in Latin, ap. *SS. Rer. Dan.*, iii., p. 46, ed. Langebek, Hafniæ, 1774; in Icelandic, ap. Vigfusson's *Sturlunga Saga*, ii.

⁴ Jaffé, 2574 (1959).

⁵ *Ib.*, 2759 (2085). Cf. vol. ii. of this work, p. 126 f. and 271 f. The transference was made by Louis the German in 847, and was confirmed "much later," viz. in 864, by Nicholas I. at the request of Louis; just as the original See of Hamburg had been established by Louis the

Hamburg-Bremen series of papal bulls, from that of Gregory IV. to the one in question, there can be no doubt that, if some of them have been interpolated in the matter of details as to the exact countries subject to the united see, they are substantially authentic. The bulls of Gregory and Nicholas, subordinating to it the Danes, Swedes, Slavs, and adjoining peoples, were preserved in its archives in the days of Adam, its canonical historian.¹ Hence, after what we have seen of the relations between Adalbert and such distant people as the Greenlanders, we may safely accept the verdict of the majority of historians that Leo's bull regarding the See of Bremen is authentic,² and that he subjected to him not only the Swedes, the Danes, the Norwegians, and the Slavs from the river Penis in Sclavania, which formed one of the boundaries of the March of the Billungs, to the Egdore (Eider in Schleswig-Holstein),³ but also

Pious in 832 and confirmed by Gregory IV. in 834. Cf. Adam Brem., i. 18; 26, 7, 9.

¹ I. 18, "Habentur in ecclesia Bremensi præcepta imperatoris et privilegia papæ S. Ansgario data"; *ib.*, c. 29, "Cujus rei (the junction of the two sees by Nicholas) privilegia diligenter adhuc conservantur in B. eccles."; *ib.*, c. 52, "ad manum sunt privilegia Sergii (III.) papæ"; cf. *ib.*, ii. 3. In the bull of Nicholas I. (ep. 62, ap. *P. L.*, t. 119), Ansgar is named the Pope's legate, "in omnibus circumquaque gentibus Sueorum, Danorum et Slavorum, ac in cæteris ubicunque illis in partibus constitutis divina pietas ostium aperuerit, publicam evangelizandi tribuimus auctoritatem." In the bull of Gregory IV., and perhaps in some of the other bulls of the Hamburg-Bremen series, the interpolation simply consists in giving specific names to "the other parts" when Iceland, etc, came to the knowledge of the archbishops of Bremen.

² Some think that the clause at the end of the bull in which Adalbert is granted the use of the Roman mitre is interpolated, "caput tuum quoque mitra, quod est insigne Romanorum, insigniri." It may have been; but it is repeated in the bull of Victor II., ep. 5, ap. *P. L.*, 143, and we learn from the anonymous author of *De epp. Eichstetensibus* (c. 36) that Clement II. had already given permission to the clergy of Bamberg to wear mitres on the principal feasts. Ap. *P. L.*, t. 146.

³ Cf. Map 34 of Poole's *Hist. Atlas*.

Islant (Iceland), Gronlant (Greenland), and Scridevinum (Scritefingi).¹ On the same conditions of obedience to the Apostolic See as had been laid down by it for "the most blessed Boniface," he was to take the place of the Pope in those regions, and was to ordain bishops for them according as they were brought "into the fold of Christ."² And as a matter of fact, as we learn from his younger contemporary, the canon of Bremen, Adalbert did consecrate bishops both for Norway and Iceland, and sent letters both to the Icelanders and the Greenlanders, promising to come to them soon, so that they might rejoice together.³

Leo returns
to Rome,
Jan. 1050.

The Romans, ever unhappy when the Pope was not in their midst, and ever turbulent when he was, gave Leo a royal welcome when he came back. On his first journey to Rome he had brought with him Hildebrand of Cluny; and this time, in furtherance of his plan to surround himself with the cream of the monastic order, he brought with him Humbert from the famous Lorraine abbey of Moyeuimoutier in the diocese of Toul. Both by word and deed he was to prove himself one of the greatest of the great men whom Leo gathered around him.

¹ Adam of Bremen (iv. c. 37) called Halagland, which was the name given to the deeply indented strip of land forming the northern face of Norway, an island; but the scholiast writes on this passage more correctly: "Alii dicunt Halagland esse partem Nordmanniæ postremam, quod sit proxima Scritefingis, asperitate montium et frigoris inaccessibilis." And in the bull of Gregory IV. (Jaffé, 2574), *Halsingalondan* (Halagland) is connected with *Scrideuindum*. Hence it would seem that the latter is the same as the Scritefingi of the scholiast.

² Ep. 77.

³ IV. 33, 34, 35. About the Greenlanders (*ib.*, c. 36) he says: "Ad eos etiam sermo est nuper christianitatem pervolasse." Besides the works we have just cited on the Northern nations, I would refer to a rare little book, *History of the Northmen* up to the conquest of England by William the Conqueror, by Henry Wheaton, London, 1831; to Keary's little book on *Norway and the Norwegians*, London, 1896; and to the *Dublin Review*, vol. xxxii. (1852), p. 97 f.; *ib.*, xxxiii. p. 112 f.; *ib.*, xi. p. 277 f.; *ib.*, xxvii. p. 35; *ib.*, L. p. 1 f.

Hardly had he returned to Rome when the cries of the people of south Italy called him away. Their condition had long been heartrending, for they had long been the prey of Greeks, Saracens, and their own princes. Now they were feeling the sting of another serpent, which, however, was fortunately destined to eat up the others. From about the year 1030 the Normans had been steadily increasing their hold on southern Italy.¹ Fresh recruits had joined them from Normandy, among others the famous Robert Guiscard, and his numerous brothers, sons of a poor knight, Tancred of Hauteville, near Coutances. After they had seized (1041) Melfi, "the head and gate of all Apulia," as Leo of Ostia calls it, they naturally made more rapid headway. With all the ideas of "gathering property" held by their pagan Viking ancestors, they waged war as cruelly as the Saracens. What they could not keep they destroyed, and what they could not seize by force they obtained by treachery. Nor did they care whether they laid "iron arms" on the lands of priests or people, prince or Pope.²

Leaves it
for south
Italy.

By letter and by envoy Leo begged the Normans to be more considerate in their treatment of the people; but he soon found that he got nothing from them but smooth words. Accordingly, as well for the sake of reinvigorating the Church in Apulia, which in the midst of the horrors of war "seemed to have well-nigh perished," as to take the Normans to task for their conduct, he determined to go thither in person. Outwardly displaying the greatest

Leo goes to
Apulia, c.
Feb. 1050.

¹ Cf. *supra*, v. p. 176 ff.

² "Non solum Apuliam, verum etiam adiacentes quasque provincias bellica vi suæ conabatur subdere dicioni. Quibus vero non tam facile dominari poterat, harum vineas ferro, messes vero igne devastabat. Civitates . . . vel dolo capiebat, etc. Inter hæc ad augmentum suæ crudelitatis Apostolicæ sedis etiam prædia affligere parvipendebat." *Anon. Benev.*, p. vc. f. "Et celles choses qui lor plaisoient, prenoient; . . . les gens du pays s'en merveilloient et orent paour." Aimé, ii. 20. Friend and foe tell the same story.

respect for him, "the whole race of the Normans" went to meet him. To the Pope's exhortations and threats they promised on oath that they would do as he wished, and declared, should he order it, that they would at once return across the seas. "When the Pope heard this, thinking that others were as single-minded as he was himself, he gave them his blessing and leave to depart."¹ While he was in the South, the crafty Normans held their hands; but their conduct soon showed that they had but sworn with the lips, and that they had resolved to do all that their hearts desired.

Interviews
the Nor-
mans.

Passing through Capua, Salerno, and Melfi, Leo reached Benevento; and when its rulers, Pandulf III. and Landulf VI., refused to tender to him the obedience which he maintained was due to him from the donations of the city which the emperors had made to the Popes, the people promptly "expelled them and their men of law."² Evidently there was then in Benevento a party which had more faith in the Pope's protection than in that of their own princes. The city was soon to pass definitely³ into the hands of the Popes. The father of its last Lombard ruler was the latter of those just expelled.⁴

¹ *Anon. Benev.*, p. ivc. Cf. Wibert, ii. c. 6; Aimé, iii. 14.

² *Ann. Benev.*, an. 1050. "Mense Apr. in quadragesima, Leo . . . transiens per Beneventum, perrexit montem Garganum. Cui præfatus princeps (Pandulfus) obedire noluit, ideo Beneventani expulerunt eum ap urbe cum *sculdais suis*," i.e. officials with judicial power. Ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii, or Watterich, i. 112. Cf. Aimé, iii. 15. Wibert (*l.c.*) relates that a woman of Benevento, who had been bedridden for fifteen years, recovered her health after she had, in accordance with the dictates of a vision, drunk of the water with which Leo had washed his fingers during Mass.

³ In 1053. Cf. Herm. Contr., ad. an. 1053; Leo Ost., ii. 84. As a principality, it ceased to exist in 1077. Cf. *infra*, p. 108.

⁴ The chronicles on which we have to rely for our information on the affairs of south Italy at this period are as confused as the times there; and one cannot feel sure of the exact year, order, or place in which some of these events took place. I have adopted the order of

From Benevento Leo went on to Mount Gargano ; and when he had refreshed his soul with prayer at the shrine of St. Michael, he proceeded to hold a synod in the ancient town of Siponto hard by. This council, held on Greek territory, at which it is supposed the bishops of Calabria and Apulia assisted, deposed two archbishops who had obtained their positions by bribery and corruption, and were endeavouring to override one another.¹ "And then," continues Aimé,² "he turned him back to Rome, and once more betook himself to the road to correct other cities."

The synod
of Siponto,
April.

However, before he again started on another journey of reform, he held his usual Paschal synod at Rome. What makes this one of special account is the fact that it formally condemned the doctrines of Berengarius of Tours on the Blessed Eucharist. Over fifty bishops from Italy and from the different kingdoms of Gaul, and over thirty abbots assisted at its deliberations. Compared with the numbers present at his first Paschal synod, those at his second may serve to show the rapid advance of Leo's influence. After disposing of a question of precedence,³ and excommunicating the bishops of Brittany for their simony and their refusal to submit to the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of Tours,⁴

Synod at
Rome,
April 29.

events followed by Jaffé, sub 4210. Balan, professing to follow the *Chron. S. Sophiae* (ap. Borgia, *Breve istor. del domin. temp. dei Papi*, Doc. iv., p. 35), which he says is here exact in its chronology, assigns the expulsion of the princes to 1051 (*Storia d'Italia*, iii. p. 33 f., 2nd ed., Modena, 1894); but the same chronicle (788-1130), as best edited under the name of *Annales Beneventani*, in the *Monumenta (M. G. SS., iii.)*, gives 1050 as the date for this event.

¹ Wibert, *l.c.*

² III. 14.

³ The Pope assigned the place on his right to Milan. Cf. Landulf, *Hist. Med.*, iii. 3. To further his claims, Guido brought to Rome not only learned clerks, but "strenuissimi milites."

⁴ Ep. 40, to Conan II., or rather to his uncle Eudo, who was then regent, and the princes of Brittany. On this perennial dispute between Dol and Tours, only settled in the thirteenth century, see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. Append. C, p. 91.

the council proceeded to adopt a new mode of attacking the marriages of priests. It forbade all, as well clergy as laity, to have any intercourse (*ut abstinerent a communione*) with priests and deacons who failed to keep their vows of chastity.¹ The successors of Leo, especially St. Gregory VII., persisted in this plan, which was ultimately crowned with success.

Beren-
garius of
Tours,
c. 1000-
1088.

But the most important question dealt with by the synod was the heresy of Berengarius of Tours. Born towards the beginning of the eleventh century, Berengarius was educated at the famous school of Chartres by the no less famous bishop of the same city, Fulbert, the heir of the teaching of Gerbert of Rheims. Of this he was reminded by an old schoolfellow, Adelmann, in a most touching letter which he wrote to him when the report had reached him "that he had torn himself from the unity of Holy Mother Church, and that he seemed to be holding views which differed from Catholic faith regarding the Body and Blood of the Lord which throughout the whole world is daily immolated on the altar." "The words of the report," the letter continued, "set forth that you hold that we have not the true Body and Blood of Christ, but a mere figure and image."² The elder man called to the mind of the younger their "most sweet companionship" under their "venerable Socrates" (Fulbert) at Chartres, and the private little colloquies which he used to hold with them of an evening in the garden, when he was wont, with tearful

¹ Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v.

² He begs Berengarius to show that those men are liars who are filling "non solum Latinas verum etiam Teutonicas aures . . . quasi te ab unitate sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ divulseris, et de corpore et sanguine Domini, quod quotidie in universa terra super sanctum altare immolatur, aliter quam fides catholica teneat, sentire videaris : hoc est, ut illorum de te dictis utar, non esse verum corpus Christi neque verum sanguinem, sed figuram quamdam et similitudinem." Ep. Adel., ap. *P. L.*, t. 143, p. 1290.

fervour, to exhort them to follow in the footsteps of the Fathers, so that they might never tread a new and deceitful path.¹ Did the good old bishop augur ill from what he saw of the character of the youthful Berengarius,² or was he simply one of his favourite disciples? Whether Fulbert regarded him with apprehension or with trustful love, it is certain that, while he made friends among his companions, who admired him for his attainments, which seem, however, to have been more external than intellectual, more attractive than profound, he engendered in a larger number distrust of his mental abilities and of the sincerity of his actions. Guitmund, "the most eloquent man of our times,"³ who later on wrote a treatise⁴ against the teaching of Berengarius, says, on the testimony of those who then knew him,⁵ that "whilst a youth at school, puffed up by an ability that was wanting in ballast, he had but little respect for the judgment of his master, and none for that of his fellow-students. He even despised the works

¹ Berengarius, in his impatience under contradiction, soon forgot that he had ever loved, and used to call his friend *Aulum-Mannum*. What that may mean I cannot say, unless it has some reference to a nag. *Ib.*, p. 1298. How easily he turned upon his friends may be also inferred from a letter written to him by one of his admirers, Drogo of Paris. It begins: "Would to God I had never possessed your favour, since you so easily deprive me of it." *Ap. Delarc*, p. 285.

² From what is related of him by our countryman, William of Malmesbury (*tc.* 1145), it would appear so. Among the great throng of people who crowded round the death-bed of Fulbert was Berengarius. But when the dying man caught sight of him, he would have him driven away, "protesting that an immense devil stood near him, and attempted to seduce many persons to follow him by beckoning with his hand and whispering some enticement." *De gest. reg.*, iii., an. 1087. *Eng. trans.*

³ Malmesbury, *l.c.* Guitmund was consecrated archbishop of Aversa, in Apulia, by Urban II. in the year of the death of Berengarius, viz., 1088 (Jaffé, 5357, 5358), hence Gams (*Series Epp.*) is mistaken in assigning his death to *c.* 1080.

⁴ *De corp. et sang. Christi veritate in Eucharist.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149.

⁵ "Ut aiunt qui eum tunc noverunt." *Ib.*, p. 1428.

on the liberal arts.¹ Unable to rise to the higher flights of philosophy, for his mind was not keen enough, and the liberal arts throughout the *Gauls* were then in a state of decay,² he strove, by giving new meanings to old words (a habit he has kept up even to the present day) to win for himself in one way or another a reputation for special learning. Moreover, by pompous gait, by using a higher chair than those employed by the others, by striving to assume the dignity of his master rather than to acquire his learning, by withdrawing his head far back into his cowl, as though in deep thought, by speaking in a very slow and plaintive voice, so as to deceive the unwary—by all these means did he endeavour to insinuate that he was a master in the arts.” Here, of course, we have the views of those of his fellow-students who had no special love for Berengarius. But they certainly show that, consciously or unconsciously, he was an eccentric and affected young man. After the death of Fulbert (1029) he went to Tours, and became *scholasticus* or master of its cathedral school, and even after he had been made archdeacon of Angers (c. 1040), continued to give lessons there.

¹ “*Libros insuper artium contemnebat.*” Guitmund, *l.c.* Doubtless the works on the harder and drier subjects of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, such as grammar, arithmetic, geometry, etc., are meant, as he seems to have had no small knowledge of the classical authors, and to have been no stranger to dialectics and to the opinions of certain older writers.

“*Quidquid philosophi, quidquid cecinere poetæ
Ingenio cessit eloquioque suo,*”

sings Hildebert of Le Mans (†1133), ap. Malmesbury, *l.c.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 1257. But William is careful twice to note that the bishop “exceeded the just measure of praise” in eulogising his master (?). Cf. *Hildebert de Lavardin*, p. 38, by Dieudonné, Paris, 1898.

² At least, perhaps, as compared with their state in Italy. Cf. Ademar of Chabannes (†1034), writing in 1028: “*In Francia est sapientia, sed parum, nam in Langobardia ubi ego plus didici, est fons sapientiæ.*” Ep. ap. Bouquet, *Recueil*, x. 508, cited by Crozals, *Lanfranc*, p. 18.

As a teacher he attached to himself many devoted disciples, who admired not only what he said and the way in which he set forth what he had to say, but also his abstemious life.¹ But, among scholars at least, eloquence will never prevail over learning, at any rate with the greater number, nor sophistry over real philosophy. The solidity of the teaching of Lanfranc, who is said² to have been the fellow-student of Berengarius, was drawing the more earnest students from Tours to Bec. It was about the time when the latter was named arch-deacon that the cultured Italian, who was destined to do so much for France and England, left his native Pavia³ and came to Normandy. For the sake of leading a retired life, and of serving God in obscurity, he withdrew to the little abbey of Bec, which had just been founded by one who, when in the world, had been a distinguished soldier (Herluin). But when, after a year or two, Herluin named him prior (1045), he had to teach, and before long he caused "the school of Bec to become the most important intellectual centre of Normandy and of France,"⁴ and attracted even some of the pupils of the *scholasticus* of Tours.

¹ Drogo, one of his scholars (see n. *supra*), writing to him towards 1045, praises his clearness in explaining the Scriptures, his eloquence, his profound knowledge of medicine, and his mortified life, and tells of the number of people who flocked to him for advice. Ep. ap. *Berengarius Turonensis*, p. 200, by Sudendorf, Hamburg, 1850. This work is concluded by a collection of letters (22) relating to Berengarius.

² By Knyghton (*De event. Angliæ*, ii. c. 5), a contemporary of Edward III., but by no means a careful author. "Quando," Lanfranc is made to say, "in scolis militavimus, semper contra fidem Catholicam auctoritates collegisti."

³ He was born c. 1005. On Lanfranc, cf. *Lanfranc, notice biog., litt., et philos.*, by Charma, Paris, 1849. Better is *Lanfranc* by J. de Crozals, Paris, 1877. Longuemare's *Lanfranc*, Paris, 1902, treats of him particularly as "un administrateur, un politique."

⁴ Crozals, p. 44. Cf. Ord. Vitalis, *Hist.*, iv. 7. He taught for about twenty years.

Proclaims
his heresy,
1047.

According to some authors, it was chagrin at the loss of his students that caused Berengarius to put forth his heretical views on the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.¹ "Anxious to draw to himself the attention of all, he preferred to be a heretic and the cynosure of all eyes rather than live as a Catholic known only to the eyes of God."²

For many centuries no attempt was made to set forth the belief of the Church regarding the sacrament of the altar fully and in scientific terms.³ It was, however, inevitable that the attempt should be made. Monothelism in the seventh century, and Adoptionism in the eighth, had resulted in a very definite presentment of Catholic doctrine with regard to the union of the human and divine natures in the Person of God the Son. The ninth century witnessed the first effort to unfold the belief of the Church on the Eucharist, and to clothe it in scientific language. The difficult task was essayed by a monk of Corbie, Paschasius Radbert (†865). He had not to deal with the Real Presence; he had not to prove that the Eucharistic bread was something more than ordinary bread. Unless we are to regard the *Discipline of the Secret* as childish, the mysterious words of the Fathers on the subject of the Eucharist as inept, their sublime language regarding it as gross exaggeration, all the Eucharistic ceremonies as

¹ Guitmund, *De corp.*, i. p. 1428. "Cumque per ipsum D. Lanfrancum . . . desertum se iste a discipulis dolens, ad eructanda impudenter divinarum Scripturarum sacramenta, ubi ille adhuc adolescens, et aliis eatenus detentus studiis nondum adeo intenderat, sese convertit."

² *Ib.*

³ This fact, together with the advantage that he was, as it were, helped "by the testimony of the senses," was the cause, according to Guitmund (p. 1429), why Berengarius singled out the doctrine of the Eucharist for attack: "nec tam *copiosissime* ab aliquo SS. Patrum (quippe non indigente adeo temporibus illorum Ecclesia, cum tamen quid inde tenerent perspicue et lucidissime sapientissimi eorum multi scripserunt) contra hanc (the holy Eucharist) disputatum sentiebat."

misleading, and Christian symbolism as an utterly baseless and groundless figment of puerile imaginations, we must conclude that it had always been the firm belief of Christian men that there was very much more beneath the form of the sacramental bread than the mere product of wheat. Radbert, then, did not set himself to explain that that was Christ's body, but to develop the import of that proposition. This he did in terms, some of which not unnaturally, as obviously tentative, were not altogether unexceptional.¹ In insisting, for instance, that the Eucharist was the true Body of Christ, and in developing its identity with that born of the Virgin Mary, he used expressions which were easily capable of being understood in too carnal a sense. His treatise caused some stir. Among the works which it called forth, those which at one time or another attracted most attention were the productions of Ratram² (†865), also a monk of Corbie, and of John Scotus Erigena. The work of the former is most obscure, as it seems at one time to teach the doctrine of Transubstantiation with Paschasius, and at another to call in question even the Real Presence.³ The book of John the Scot, however, though now lost, appears to have denied the doctrine even of the Real Presence with no uncertain voice. Such teaching

¹ With his *De corp. et sang. Dni.* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 120) cf. his *Expositio in S. Mat.*, xxvi. 26.

² *De corp. et sang. Dni.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 121.

³ Hence it is said (Alzog, *Hist. of the Church*, ii. p. 313, ed. Gill, Dublin, 1880) that even the Centuriators of Magdeburg hold that the work of Ratram "has the seeds of Transubstantiation; for it uses the words *change* and *conversion*." Similarly, Canon Taylor, who has 'done it into English,' and who believes that the doctrine of Ratram is that "set forth in the Communion Service, and the 28th and 29th articles" of the Anglican Church (Introduc., p. vi), admits (*ib.*), "there are indeed several passages in this treatise which are expressed very differently from what one would have done oneself, and which, especially when taken by themselves, seem to set forth what would be considered very high doctrine on the subject."

was only to be expected from that pantheistic and rationalistic writer.¹ But even the voice of theology cannot make itself heard amid the din of arms. The first controversy on the Eucharist was stifled in the dire political troubles which distressed the West as the power of the Carolingians declined; and, when Berengarius started the second, the simple Catholic faith was that the Eucharistic bread was really and truly the Body of Christ.² But if the first controversy concerned the *mode* of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, the second, for a brief space at least, concerned the *fact* of His presence. But as the controversy progressed, Berengarius began to hold that the Body of Christ was present *in* or *with* the Eucharistic bread (*i.e.*, the doctrine of impanation or companation), and this second controversy on the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist ended in the definite enunciation of *Transubstantiation* as the doctrine of the Catholic Church.³

Following in the footsteps of John the Scot, as he him-

¹ Cf. the chap. "Symbolism and Sacrament" in Miss Alice Gardner's *Studies in John the Scot*, London, 1900. To me the matter of this book seems as hazy as the lady's own views on Christianity seem to be nebulous. She writes (Introduc., p. 22): "But if, in our day, we see traces in the religious ideas and the general outlook of a good many educated people of a reaction against the definite, juristic, inelastic spirit, and all the influences which are summed up in the word *Latinity*, and a desire after a free intellectual life with a vast spiritual background—such as may be denoted by the words *Christian Hellenism*—it seems natural that some among us should look with interest on the labours and the productions of John the Scot."

² That such was the universal belief of the Church, Berengarius did not attempt to deny. When this general faith was put forward against his novelties, he simply said it was "a universal error." Cf. his *De sacra Cæna*, p. 35 f., ed. Vischer, Berlin, 1834. Of this edition, Alzog (*l.c.*, p. 317) notes that it is "very incorrect" and "fit for use only with the appendix by Grotefend."

³ For proof of the belief of the English people in Transubstantiation before the time of Berengarius, see *A Hist. of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, by Bridgett, pp. 35, 41, 61, etc.; ed. London, 1908.

self allowed, and feeling secure in the friendship of the bishop of Angers¹ and in that of Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, Berengarius proclaimed (1047) that the Eucharistic bread was not really the Body of Christ, but merely a figure of it, and that after consecration the bread was exactly what it had been before.² His old friend Adelmann

¹ Bruno. Cf. his letter to Arnulf, archbishop of Tours (ap. Sudendorf, p. 202 f.), and (*ib.*) that of Berengarius to Geoffrey. Bruno later on abandoned his archdeacon as a heretic. Cardinal Humbert blamed him for troubling the Church, after more than a thousand years of peace on the subject, with a new heresy against the Eucharist. This was in a letter written about the end of the year 1050. It was discovered by Brucker. Cf. ii. 143, 393.

² In a letter to Ascelinus (ap. *P. L.*, t. 150, p. 66) he declared that it was Paschasius who had imagined that there was no bread at all in the Sacrament of the Lord's Body ; but that "a child still at school" could see that the very words of consecration showed that the matter of bread did exist in the sacrament. Men say, writes Adelmann to him, that "de corp. et sang. Dni., quod quotidie in universa terra super sanctum altare immolatur, aliter quam fides catholica teneat, sentire videaris : hoc est, ut illorum de te dictis utar, non esse verum corpus Christi neque verum sanguinem, sed figuram quamdam et similitudinem." Ep. ap. *P. L.*, t. 143. According to Hugo of Langres, he taught that the Body of Christ was present in the sacrament, but that it was *incorporeal*. Hugo Lingon., *Contra Bereng.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142, p. 1326. Milo Crispin, in his *Life* of Lanfranc, says (c. 3) : "Dicebat panem et vinum post consecrationem, sacramentum tantum, non autem esse verum Christi corpus et sanguinem." Bruno of Angers and Berengarius "astruant corpus Domini non tam corpus esse quam umbram et figuram corporis Domini," writes Deoduinus of Liège, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146. Cf. Abbot Durand (†1088), *Lib. de corp. Christi*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149. In his own writings Berengarius sometimes seems to hold that the Body of Christ was present *along with the bread*, i.e., the so-called doctrine of *impanation*, but his doctrine of an *incorporeal* body reduces to nil any bodily presence. Hence, though of course his followers soon began to differ among themselves in their teaching, no doubt the following assertions of Guitmund are correct : "Berengarius et qui eum sequuntur, asseverant Eucharistiam Dni. non esse vere substantialiterque corpus et sanguinem Dni., sed sola voce sic appellari, pro eo quod tanquam umbra et figura significativa sit corporis et sanguinis Dni. . . . Berengariani omnes quidem in hoc conveniunt quia panis et vinum essentialiter non mutantur." This Guitmund states as the result of personally questioning the followers

wrote to implore him "for God's sake and by the sweet memory of Fulbert to love Catholic peace, and not to disturb the republic of Christ, so well founded by our ancestors."¹ Lanfranc lectured against him,² and then set out to assist at the Roman council whence we have digressed.

Condem-
nation of
Berengarius,
1050.

As soon as he was informed that Lanfranc had condemned his teaching as heretical, Berengarius wrote to him deprecating what he called his precipitation, but stating his approval of the opinions of John the Scot. What this letter brought upon its author shall be stated in the words of Lanfranc: "Your heresy was brought to the notice of the Apostolic See in the days of Pope Leo. Whilst he was presiding at a synod, surrounded by a great multitude of bishops, abbots, and pious persons of divers ranks and countries, the letters you had sent to me on the Body and Blood of the Lord were ordered to be read in public. The messenger you had commissioned to deliver them to me, finding I had left Normandy, gave them to some clerks. They apprised themselves of their contents; and, when they discovered that they were not in harmony with the general belief of the Church (*usitatissimum Ecclesiæ fidem*), were moved by zeal for the cause of God to have them read to others, and to make known their contents to many. . . . A clerk of Rheims brought them to Rome. After they had been read, and it was clear that you adhered to John the Scot, condemned Paschasius, and held doctrines

of Berengarius. *De corp. Christi verit.*, i., ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1430. What we have given as the teaching of Berengarius is in complete accord with what is given as his doctrine by one of his recent admirers, Ebersolt (*Bérenger de Tours*, p. 82 ff., Paris, 1903). So high is his opinion of him that, on what ground it is difficult to imagine, he chooses to assert that he was "d'une intelligence qui dépassait de beaucoup celle de ses contemporains" (p. 67), and that, because he denied the principle of authority, he "ruinait du même coup le système catholique romain" (p. 70).

¹ Ep., *l.c.*

Cf. Ep. Bereng., ap. *P. L.*, t. 150, p. 63.

concerning the Eucharist which were opposed to the common faith, you, who would deprive the Church of Holy Communion, were yourself cut off from communion with the Church.”¹ However, to give him an opportunity to clear himself, Berengarius was summoned to appear before a council to be held by the Pope at Vercelli in September.²

The fact that, in the first instance, he had been condemned, as it were, unheard, enabled him meanwhile to pose as a victim to malice. He spoke of the Pope in contemptuous language, calling him sacrilegious;³ disseminated his doctrines “by means of poor scholars, whom he allured by daily hire”;⁴ and denounced those who did not see “eye to eye” with him as blind, or as for the most part incapable of comprehending the matter in hand.⁵

Berengarius is thrown into prison.

¹ Lanfranc, *De corp. Dni.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 150, p. 413.

² Cf. *De Bereng. damnat.* (the work of an anonymous author who wrote in 1088). “Deinde ipsum ad proximam tunc synodum, in proximo Septembri ab eo Vercellis celebrandam, vocavit (Leo) audiendum.” Labbe, *Conc.*, ix. 1050.

³ *De sacra Cæna*, ed. Vischer, p. 35 f. Durand, abbot of Troarn, tells us of letters which “he himself had read,” in which Berengarius “with much rashness branded as heretical the Roman Church, *i.e.*, the head of all Christendom, and did not even refrain from speaking against its ruler, the Lord Pope Leo, whose Catholic faith and distinguished learning is deservedly esteemed”—“inter quæ (*i.e.*, among his absurdities, absurda, etc., against the faith) Romanam ecclesiam, caput videlicet totius Christianitatis, multa temeritate hæretico vocabulo denotavit, cum qua rectorem ejus . . . pariter infamavit.” *De corp. Christi*, § 9, n. 32, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149. It is supposed that Durand or his copyist has made a mistake in the date given in this number. Cf. Hefele, *Conc.*, vi. 328.

⁴ Will. of Malmesbury (*Gest. Reg.*, iii. § 284, ed. *P. L.*) speaks of “ejus doctrina, per egenos scholares (quos ipse quotidiana stipe sollicitabat) disseminata.” Cf. Wiclif’s “poor priests”; and Lanfranc, *l.c.*, cc. 2, 7, 20. Guitmund “per egenos scholasticos . . . nefandissimum virus effudit” (p. 1429).

⁵ Cf. his letter (ap. Sudendorf, p. 209) to Ansfrid, abbot of Préaux, who had advised him to study the sacred scriptures more closely, and had proclaimed his own adhesion to the decision of the Holy See

Still, he made up his mind to present himself at the council of Vercelli, and went to the king of France, who was also abbot of Tours, to obtain his permission to leave the kingdom. But Henry was alarmed at the growing excitement caused by the spread of the new doctrines; and he was, moreover, as we have seen, under the influence of men who were anxious to limit the power of the Pope in France. He accordingly threw the *scholasticus* of Tours into prison,¹ and made arrangements to have the affair examined in France.

He is con-
demned at
Vercelli,
Sept. 1050.

Meanwhile, as the heresy of Berengarius was still spreading, the book of John Scotus was read and condemned at the council of Vercelli, as was also the doctrine of its latest advocate.²

Released from confinement—in all probability not long after the closing of the synod just mentioned—we next find him making a vain attempt to win over to his doctrines the young duke of Normandy (the Conqueror).³ Vanquished soon after (1051) in a public disputation at Brionne, he was condemned at a council which King Henry caused to assemble at Paris⁴ (October 16, 1051). Deoduinus of Liège had written to warn Henry that no

rather than to anything else. Brucker (ii. p. 153) supposes this letter to have been written to Albert of Marmoutier.

¹ Berengarius tells this himself (*De sacra Cæna*, p. 41 f.).

² *Ib.* Later on he maintained that at the time of the holding of the council of Vercelli, which he brands as a “tumultuous petty gathering,” “he had never made known his opinions” on the subject of the Eucharist. *Ib.* Cf. Lanfranc; *De corp. Dni.*, p. 413.

³ Durand, *l.c.* William’s faith in the Sacrament of the Altar, and his devotion towards it, is strongly emphasised by his enthusiastic biographer and chaplain, William of Poitiers. “Sumebat et honorabat condecienti reverentia hostiam salutarem, Dominicum sanguinem; sincera fide tenens quod vera doctrina præceperat, panem et vinum . . . consecrata sacerdotis lingua et manu sancto canone, Redemptoris veram esse carnem et verum esse sanguinem.” *Will. Conq. Gest.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1240.

⁴ Durand, *l.c.* Cf. *Chron. Elnonense*, an. 1051, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v.

good could come of his council unless it were held with the authorisation of the Holy See, as it would probably be necessary to condemn Eusebius Bruno, bishop of Angers, also; and "you know," he wrote, "that a bishop can only be condemned by apostolical authority." Hence he begged the king not to cite them before him "until the See of Rome has granted you the power of condemning them."¹ Besides, he concluded, their doctrine is already condemned enough. It is their punishment that should be thought about. Although the council decreed that if Berengarius did not repent, he and his should be seized, and made to retract, or put to death,² their resolutions remained a dead letter. Berengarius was safe under the protection of Bishop Bruno and the powerful Geoffrey (II.) Martel, count of Anjou, the son of the dreaded Fulk the Black. It was convenient to that noble to defend those in opposition to the Holy See, as he was under sentence of excommunication himself for keeping in prison the bishop of Le Mans.³

But the power of Geoffrey was on the wane. He had brought upon himself the enmity of the "stark" William. And so, not to have too many foes, he released bishop Gervase at the end of 1053 or at the beginning of 1054. This he at once made known to the Pope by a letter in which he strove to show that the whole blame of what had occurred between them rested with the bishop, since he personally had done all that lay in his power "not to show himself a rebel to the authority of the Holy See and not to fail in respect to the ecclesiastical dignity."⁴

He recants
at Tours,
1054.

¹ "Donec, accepta Romanæ sedis audientia, damnandi potestatem haberetis." Deod., *Ep.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146, p. 1440.

² Durand, *l.c.*

³ With Labbe, *Conc.*, ix. 1042, cf. *Chron. S. Maxent.*, an. 1050, ap. Marchegay, *Chron. des églises d'Anjou*. See also Delarc, 489 f., and *England under the Angevin Kings*, i. c. 4, by Miss K. Norgate.

⁴ *Ep. ap. Sudendorf*, p. 212 f.

The letter concluded by a request that the Pope would provide for the interests of the See of Le Mans, inasmuch as Gervase had fled to Normandy as soon as released, and had refused to return to have his case tried even under a safe-conduct. To take further cognisance of this matter, and at the same time to take additional steps with regard to the affair of Berengarius, Leo sent into France his trusted Hildebrand. At a council which he¹ summoned at Tours, Berengarius, whether in fear because abandoned by Geoffrey, or because he was won over by the kind and patient hearing accorded him by the legate, swore, perchance, it is to be feared, rather with the lips than with the heart, that he professed the general faith of the Church; or, to use his own words, that "after the consecration the bread and wine of the altar are the Body and Blood of Christ." He was, he also tells us, to have gone to Rome with Hildebrand to justify himself before Leo, when word was brought that that great Pontiff had died.² The after history of Berengarius will prove at least that he again changed his mind on the subject of the Holy Eucharist;³ and this he could the more readily do, as he held the convenient doctrine that, if he had not been properly treated, or if threats had been used against him, he could take an oath and then break it.⁴

¹ Lanfranc (*De corp. Christi*, c. 4) writes that the council was presided over by legates of Pope Victor II.; but Berengarius himself (*De sacra Cæna*, p. 49 f.) says that it was held under Leo IX. by Hildebrand, whom he speaks of with the greatest respect. The earlier career of Berengarius is beset with chronological difficulties.

² *Ib.*

³ "In concilio (at Tours) . . . ita se sicut Ecclesia tenet catholica credere fideliter et sapere professi sunt (Berengarius and his followers). . . . Post hæc ad apostasiam et priorem vomitum audivimus redisse." Durand, *l.c.*

⁴ "Potui enim, timore mortis compulsus, quia non mansuetudine christiana mecum agebatur, non in nomine Dei viventis, contra jus et fas, *aliquid jurare et juramentum hoc rumpere.*" *De sacra Cæna*, c. 33.

During the interval (May to September) between the two councils, Leo was occupied in visiting and seeing to the good order and prosperity of monasteries both in north and in south Italy;¹ in strengthening his temporal authority by bringing to subjection the neighbouring barons (perhaps the adherents of the house of Tusculum); and in receiving princes of certain "foreign nations" who came to him, "as to an apostolic man," to do him homage.² This last item is a very disappointing piece of information, as it would be very interesting to know for certain whence came these strange rulers, whether they were Christian or pagan, Slav, Saracen, or Hungarian. But, unfortunately, no other historical passage can be found which sheds any further sure light on the matter. While, however, it is possible that these embassies may have been in connection with the second expulsion of the Saracens from Sardinia, which took place in this year, and which was the result of the joint action of the Pisans and the Holy See,³ it seems far more probable that they were from the Hungarians.⁴

Between
the
councils of
Rome and
Vercelli,
1050.

Among those with whom Leo had to contend for the temporalities of his see was Hunfrid of Ravenna. Raised to that see by the emperor, and trusting in the support of

¹ Jaffé, 4227 (3214), where he takes under his protection the monastery of S. Maria in Grado, in Arezzo, "salva debita subjectione, quæ ex præfato loco episcopum Aretinum jure solet attingere." Cf. 4228-4233. By 4232, at the request of the abbot, he submits to the sole jurisdiction of Rome the famous monastery of St. Saviour on Mt. Amiata.

² "Papa . . . ultra Romam progrediens, nonnullos locorum principes et civitates tam sibi quam imperatori jurejurando subjecit. . . . Nonnulli etiam exterarum principes gentium, missis ad eum, utpote apostolicum virum, legatis subjectionem ipsi promittunt." Herm. Cont., *Chron.*, 1050.

³ Cf. *supra*, v. p. 176; *Chron. Pisan.*, an. 1050, "Pisani vero cum Romana Sede firmata concordia," etc.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 113.

some of his courtiers,¹ he began to act, as others in his position had sometimes done before him, as though he were the independent temporal as well as the spiritual ruler of his archdiocese. In vain called to account by the Pope, he was at length excommunicated by him at the synod of Vercelli.² This resulted in his falling under the displeasure of the emperor, who summoned him to Augsburg to meet the Pope.³ There he was compelled to restore what he had usurped, and to beg for absolution (February 1051). But, as Leo observed that he had asked for it with scarcely disguised mockery, we are assured by Wibert that he predicted the speedy death which overtook him after he had but just returned to his see.⁴

Second
Trans-
alpine
journey,
1050-1051

Immediately after the synod of Vercelli, Leo for the second time crossed the Alps, once again to visit Toul for the purpose of solemnly translating the relics of Gerard, bishop of that city, whom he had just canonised at the Roman synod, and to interview the emperor. Crossing the great St. Bernard, and resting on the way at St. Maurice's at Agaune, at Romainmoutier,⁵ at Besançon, and

¹ "Cui nonnulli favebant palatini, gloriæ invidentes D. Apostolici." Wibert, ii. 7. We are told that one of them, Bishop Nizo of Frising, drawing his finger across his throat, prayed that it might be cut if he did cause the Pope to be deposed, and that, suddenly seized with a fearful pain there, he died within three days. *Ib.*

² Herm. Cont., 1050.

³ It was one of the places visited by Leo on his second Transalpine journey.

⁴ *L.c.* ; cf. Bernold's (Berthold's) ed. of Herman's *Chron.*, 1051, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

⁵ In the Jura, near Vallorbe. Cf. Leo, ep. 44. It must not be confounded with the abbey of Romans on the Isère, which, founded in the ninth century, had been presented to the Holy See. I have mentioned this monastery on account of the interesting tax which Leo exacted (May 3, 1050) as an acknowledgment of its direct dependence on Rome. The monks had "to send yearly to the Lateran Palace a *sextarius* of almonds." Cf. Jaffé, 4220-4221 ; 3593, 4347. From the following statement in the *Liber Censuum*, i. p. 186, it is clear that the

at Langres, he reached Toul soon after the middle of October. As he moved along, he did all that he could, by word and deed and by grant of privileges, to revive the faith of the people, or to improve the status of the monasteries at which he rested. And, as usual, wherever he had passed, order and justice revived.

Arrived at his beloved Toul, he found awaiting him the same enormous crowds of people as at Rheims, and with them various bishops, "as so many columns of the Church." Among the latter were Ulf, bishop of Dorchester,¹ and George, bishop of the Hungarian See of Colocza, who had come on a special deputation to the Pope.² Mindful of what had occurred on a similar occasion at Rheims, Leo decided that the translation should take place at night, and in presence of the monks and clergy only. Between October 20 and 21, they assembled in church, and "in alternate choirs" sang Matins far into the night. Then "mid the light of candles and the smoke of incense the Lord Pope, surrounded by bishops, came to see the stone removed which covered the sacred tomb. When the venerable body, more precious than priceless treasure, was exposed to view, it was seen that no corruption had altered the beauty of the face. The closed eyes seemed those of a man who was slumbering in peace; the beard had grown, and full locks of hair hung down on each side of the head.

sextarius was at this period a larger measure than it was originally. "Ecclesia Romanensis quæ specialis est R. E. debet annuatim pro censu unum sextarium amicalarum, quod geminatum facit mediocrem *saumam*." A pint and a half, even when doubled, could not be said to make even a "moderate" load (*sauma* or *sagma*) for a beast of burden.

¹ Cf. the contemporary account of this translation in the third part of Widric's history of St. Gerard (†994), *Miracula S. Gerardi*, ap. *M. G. SS.* iv. Widric (†1061), a monk of Toul, wrote his life of the saint at the Pope's suggestion.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 114. "Quem (George) civium legatio et apostolicæ benedictionis cupido advexerit." *Mirac.*, c. 9.

The pontifical vestments were in an equally good state of preservation. The attitude of the body did not so much suggest death, as of one risen from the dead. He appeared to be lying in reposeful expectation of the voice of the angel which was to bid him come forth from his tomb. The limbs, which exhaled an aroma more fragrant than that of nectar, were found to be almost intact. The nerves and muscles still held the joints together; but the flesh seemed to present but little more than lines of dust. The precious remains were wrapped with all the care imaginable in linen cloths, and exposed to the veneration of the faithful, who came flocking in from every side. On the following day (October 22) the solemn feast of the saint was celebrated; and the Pope consecrated an altar . . . where the memory of St. Gerard was honoured."¹

Leo in
Germany,
1051.

Soon after the beginning of the new year, Leo left Lorraine to go to meet the emperor. The birth² of a son and heir (afterwards to be the famous Henry IV., who was to cause so much trouble in the world) had brought joy to the heart of Henry the Black, and he showed himself very gracious to the Pope. He restored, at his request, to its rightful owners, land alienated by the crown,³ and, as we have seen, made Hunfrid of Ravenna submit to him. The relations between the Pope and the emperor at this time seem to have been cordial in the extreme. But one cannot help wondering whether Leo was satisfied with the imperial policy with regard to the Hungarians, or if he expressed his disapproval of Henry's personal immoralities?⁴ No means, however, exist of gratifying this laudable curiosity. Still, it is far from unlikely that he was displeased that the efforts

¹ Widric, *l.c.*

² November 11, 1050.

³ Jaffé, 4251 (3233).

⁴ After speaking of his virtues, Raoul Glaber (*Hist.*, v. c. 1) concludes: "Tamen pro pudor! unum in eo erat nimium reprehensibile quod incontinentia carnis luxurie infamabatur."

which the emperor was making to subdue the Hungarians left him unable to undertake anything against the Normans, whose cruelties and successes in south Italy were filling him with sorrow and apprehension.

After celebrating at Augsburg the feast of the Purification with the emperor and a large number of bishops and princes, Leo and Henry parted with every demonstration of friendship (*charitative*).¹ The Pope seems to have returned direct to Rome. When he arrived there, his first act was to appoint a successor to himself in the See of Toul. Whether the papal finances had now so improved that he could afford to do without the revenues of Toul, or whether his stay there had shown him the need of a bishop on the spot, he at any rate appointed his chancellor, Udo, to succeed him² in his first see.

His next important act in Rome was to hold the annual Paschal synod.³ At this assembly judgment was passed on certain episcopal offenders;⁴ a dispute between the bishop of Sabina and the monastery of Farfa was settled in favour of the latter;⁵ it was decreed that monks were to be anathematised who would not return to their monasteries,⁶ and the question of reordinations was discussed. The matter had already been brought up twice⁷ for discussion, and this time the Pope begged the bishops to pray that God would reveal what should be decreed on the subject.⁸ Leo's request

Back in
Rome,
1051.

Roman
synod,
April 1051.

¹ Herm., 1051; Wibert, ii. 7.

² Wibert, ii. 8.

³ The same author tells us how at this period the Pope restored to calm and to reason a woman whom diabolical possession drove into fearful contortions.

⁴ Herm., 1051.

⁵ *Chron. Farf.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii. pt. ii. 579 ff.

⁶ S. Pet. Dam. (*Opusc.* 16) brought the notice of this abuse to the Pope when "nuper . . . Romanæ synodo me interesse contigeret." Ep. præfat.

⁷ In the Roman councils of 1049, 1050.

⁸ "Papa . . . omnes episcopos . . . rogaverit, quatinus Dei misericordiam in commune deposcerent, ut, quid super hoc scrupuloso negotio decernendum esset, nutantibus revelaret." St. Pet. Dam., *Liber gratissimus*, ep. præfat.

resulted in the appearance of two pamphlets: one¹ by Cardinal Humbert against the validity of ordinations conferred by simoniacal bishops, and the other by St. Peter Damian,² in which he showed that bishops are always bishops, and that, as long as they used the correct form, their ordinations were valid. The doctrine enunciated by the saint is that of the Catholic Church to-day.

Leo goes
to south
Italy.

Scarcely had Leo returned to Rome, when envoys came to him from Benevento,³ begging him to come to their city, probably because they were harassed either by the princes (Pandulf III. and Landulf VI.) whom they had expelled⁴ (1050), or by the Normans, or by both. With a view to making himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of affairs, and to ascertaining how far his presence was really desired by the people, he sent thither as legates Dominic, patriarch of Aquileia, and Cardinal Humbert. They found that the people were really anxious to place themselves under papal rule. They proved their sincerity by taking an oath of fealty to the Pope, by formally making over their city to him by deed, and by sending to Rome twenty of the most distinguished of their number as hostages.⁵ Satisfied, accordingly, of their good faith, Leo, passing through Capua and his well-loved Monte Cassino, entered Benevento in July to receive in person the homage of its citizens.⁶ Splendid was the reception accorded him

¹ Ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

² His *Liber gratissimus*.

³ *Ann. Benev.*, 1051. Cf. the anon. biographer (*B.*), c. 5, who ascribes the difficulties of the Beneventans to the Normans.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 88 f.

⁵ *Ann. Benev.*, 1051. The legates "accepto sacramento a populo ad fidelitatem D. Papæ, mense Aprili reversi sunt Romam cum 20 nobiles et boni homines in obsidatum." "Beneventani. . . Beneventum per cartulam offertionis b. Petro tradentes." Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v. "Urbem Beneventum in nostra postestate dederunt," said Leo himself. *Anon. biog. (B.)*, c. 6.

⁶ *Ann. Benev.*, and *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 81.

both by the native inhabitants of the city, and by the strangers, Jews and Greeks, within their gates. All came forth from the city to greet him, singing the customary "laudes" in their respective languages.¹

Full of the stories of Norman violence and cruelty which the Beneventans poured into his ears, Leo left them and went on to Salerno to interview in their behalf its prince, Guaimar. All his efforts, however, for the amelioration of the condition of south Italy were spoilt by the people themselves. Urged on, not, as some without any grounds have imagined, by Argyrus, the son of the patriot Melus, who had now taken service with the Greeks, and had been named Catapan by their emperor, but by a fierce longing for revenge, the Lombards of Apulia planned a general massacre of the Normans on a given day.² Their vile design was accomplished, but only in part. Unfortunately, however, among the slain was Drogo, one of the best of the Norman chiefs,³ who had been recognised as their leader by Henry the Black, and who had promised the Pope to defend 'Benevento.'⁴ If the Normans had been cruel oppressors of the native population before the murder of Drogo and their other companions who fell by the daggers of the infuriated Lombards, they were, not unnaturally, much more cruel after it. Feeling powerless to effect

¹ *Anon. biog. (B.)*, c. 5.

² Malaterra, *Hist. Sic.*, i. 13. It must not, however, be forgotten that Malaterra was a Norman, and may well have exaggerated the intention of the Apulians.

³ "Heic (Drogo) Christiana religione et militari probitate laudabilis exstitit." Will. Gemmet., *Hist.*, vii. 30. Cf. Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, 1051, and Aimé, *L'Ystoire*, iii. 16. According to some writers, it was the assassination of Drogo that inspired the general uprising of the Apulians against their Norman oppressors. Cf. Gay, *L'Italie mérid.*, 483.

⁴ "Drogo promet de faire ce que le pape a comandé, et à ce qu'il aie remission de ses pechiez, promet à combattre pour la deffension de la cité de Bonivent." Aimé, *ib.*, iii. 15.

any good, Leo, with a heavy heart,¹ returned towards Rome.

The Pope
at Subiaco.

Never losing an opportunity of effecting a reform by a personal inspection, he went round by Subiaco, as he had heard of some scandals of which its abbot had been guilty. But before word reached the monks that the Pontiff was ascending the wild gorge in which is situated "the cradle of the Order of St. Benedict, patriarch of the monks of the West,"² the guilty man had taken to flight. Replacing him by the Frank Humbert, who, until he alienated himself from the curia of the Roman See, did so much to increase the glory of the monastery, Leo then turned his attention to the temporalities of the monastery. Finding that the inhabitants of the little town of Subiaco (the Sublacenses) were endeavouring to push their claims against the monastery by a number of forged documents, he caused "the greater part of them to be burnt in his presence." Then once again confirming the monastery in its possessions, he proclaimed: "By the power of God Almighty this spot is almost miraculous (*prope mirabilis*); and this monastery is the head of all the monasteries of Italy."³

Still the
Normans.

Between the months of October 1051 and May 1052, we find Leo now in Rome and now in one of the adjoining cities. During that period he was engaged not only in the normal work of elevating everywhere the state of religion,⁴ but in receiving appeals for help against the

¹ Aimé tells us how "en lo jor de l'Asumption de Sainte Marie Virgine (Drogo had been slain on August 10), lo pitouz pape chanta la messe et proia Dieu pour les pechiez que Drogo avoit fait." *L.c.*, cc. 17, 18.

² On Subiaco read Hare's *Days near Rome*, i. c. 19.

³ *Chron. Sublac.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xxiv. pp. 932, 933. Cf. ep. 61.

⁴ On April 20, 1052, he addressed a letter to all the bishops of Italy, in which he severely blames the monks for endeavouring to induce men

Normans, and in endeavouring to induce some of the powerful ones of the earth to grant him assistance against them. The Normans were the great cross of Leo's pontificate, just as the Lombards had been the heavy trial of the life of Gregory the Great. On behalf of the Greeks, Argyrus sent messenger after messenger to implore his co-operation against them.¹ The people of Apulia sent secret envoys to him, entreating him to bring an army to help them.² "The Normans," they said, "had become worse than ever. . . . Fortified cities can scarcely hold out against them. . . . A miserable death is impending over each and all of us."³ Their mutilated bodies furnished terrible evidence to the truth of their words. They were suffering at the hands of the cruel Normans what the English were soon to have to endure from the same hard conquerors. "Many were the men who came to the Pope from Apulia, whose sightless eyes and amputated limbs told the sad story of Norman barbarity."⁴ It is not difficult to imagine how deeply the tender heart of Leo was affected by the contemplation of so much misery.

to bestow all their charitable bequests on monasteries to the detriment of their parish churches. Half of such donations must go to the parish church of the donor. Ep. 66.

¹ "Veris commiscens fallacia nuntia mittit
Argyrus papæ, *precibusque frequentibus* illum
Obsecrat, Italiam quod libertate carentem
Liberet, ac populum discedere cogat iniquum,
Cujus pressa jugo pessumdatur Appula tellus."

Will of Apulia, *De rebus N.*, ii. p. 1041.

² "Apulienses . . . per occultos legatos IX. Leonem apostolicum ut in Apuliam cum exercitu veniat invitant." Malaterra, i. 14.

³ *Anon. Benev.*, ap. Watterich, i. ivc. Berthold, an. 1053, in his edition of Herman Contractus (ap. *P. L.*, t. 143), concludes his account of the violent deeds of the Normans thus: "divina et humana omnia, prout viribus plus poterant, jura confundere, nec jam apostolico pontifici, nec ipsi imperatori, nisi tantum verbo cedere." Cf. *Anon. biog. (B.)*, c. 6.

⁴ Bruno, *in vit.*, ap. Watterich, i. p. 98.

He wrote to the emperor, to the king of France, to first one ruler and then another, to beg them to come and free the land "from the malice of the Normans. But, as some feared the power of the Normans, and as others were well disposed towards them, no one paid heed to the Pope's prayers."¹

Leo again
in south
Italy, 1052.

Failing to obtain the aid of another's sword, Leo resolved to try once more the effect of his own words. This time he took with him, as his "envoy of peace" (*legatus pacis*), his friend the saintly Halinard, archbishop of Lyons; for he expected much help from his great linguistic attainments.² But though he visited one great city after another (May to July), Capua, Naples, Benevento, Salerno,³ it was all to no purpose. The princes would not combine against the enemy who was soon to destroy them all, and the Normans, who had resolved to be masters of south Italy, would not stop their aggrandisements. As a last resource, Leo determined to raise an army and attack the intruders himself. In a letter sent some time afterwards (January 1054) to the Greek emperor, Constantine Monomachus, he explained at some length the motives which urged him to come to this strong decision: "When, looking round with that anxious solicitude with which I have to watch over all the churches, I saw a lawless and alien people raging with incredible and unheard-of fury, and with more than heathen impiety, against the churches of God, butchering Christians, and sometimes

¹ "Et aucun, pour ce qu'il timoient la force de li Normant, et li autre pour amistié qu'il avoient, et aucun que il non estoient proié, non estoit qui feist (fit) lo comandement de lo pape." Aimé, iii. 21.

² So says (c. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142) his anonymous disciple who wrote his *Life*. He also tells us that Leo's object in going south was to relieve the people "ab oppressione, qua nimium erunt gravati a Nortmannis."

³ Aimé, iii. 25; *Chron. S. Benigni Divion.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii.; *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 81.

putting them to death with new and horrible tortures, sparing neither children, old men, nor even weak women, and, making no distinction between sacred and profane, plundering, burning, and levelling with the ground the basilicas of the saints, I very frequently (*sæpissime*) remonstrated with them. I besought them to amend; I preached to them; I pressed them in season and out of season; I threatened them with the vengeance of both God and men. But, as the wise man saith, 'No man can correct whom God hath despised' (Eccles. vii. 14); nor is the foolish man corrected. . . . Hence, ready not only to spend worldly goods to succour the sheep of Christ, but to be spent myself, I thought it best, as a protest against their wickedness, or, if needs be, for the purpose of repressing their contumacy, to gather together forces from every quarter. For I was mindful of the saying of the Apostle, 'that princes bear not the sword in vain, but are avengers to execute wrath upon him that doth evil, and are not a terror to the good work but to the evil' (Rom. xiii. 3, 4); and that kings and dukes are 'sent by God for the punishment of evil-doers' (1 Peter ii. 14)."¹

At this juncture the cry of another distressed people rose up to the Pope. Envoys reached him from Andrew, king of Hungary. Reminding him that their country was subject to him,² they implored him to come and procure

¹ Ep. 103, ap. Migne; 9, ap. Will.

² In a bull purporting to have been issued at Pavia in the August of 1052, mention is made of this subjection of Hungary to the Pope. "Accidit ut bb. p. Leo per Pataviensem civitatem in servitium S. Petri Ap. *ad subjugandum*, non hostiliter videlicet *sed illorum sponte*, Ungaricum sibi regnum, iter arriperet." Jaffé, sub 4279. Even if the bull is spurious, that is no reason for throwing doubt on the credibility of incidental notices, such as the above, contained in it. According to the *anon. biographer* (B.), c. 7, the emperor also at this time wrote to beg the Pope to come into Germany "ut prelia et homicidia ab eis (provinciæ Galliarum) repellas."

for them from the emperor the blessings of peace.¹ Leo looked on the summons as a heaven-sent opportunity. He would go and persuade Henry not to molest the Hungarians, who only wished to be left to themselves, but to turn his arms against men bent, at any cost to others, on forcing forward their own interests. Leaving Halinard behind him in Rome to await his return,² he set out for Germany³ (July 1052), and found the emperor encamped before Brezisburg, on the Maraha (Pressburg on the March), one of the border towns of Hungary.⁴

To regain the throne from which undue favouring of the foreigner had caused him to be expelled, Peter,⁵ the successor of St. Stephen, had placed Hungary under the suzerainty of the emperor. This led to his second expulsion by an indignant people, and to the frequent invasion of their country by Henry in order to wring from their new ruler, King Andrew (1046-1061), the submission promised by Peter. To induce the emperor to leave him in undisturbed possession of his throne, Andrew endeavoured to secure the intercession of the Pope on his behalf, and, as we have seen, sent George of Colocza to meet him when he crossed the Alps in 1050.⁶ Leo was in a delicate position. True to the noble papal idea of *the empire*, he was anxious to increase its influence;⁷ and yet, on the other hand, the relations between Hungary and the Papacy naturally filled him with a warm sympathy

¹ "Interim d. Papa Leo ab Andrea accitus," etc. Herm. Contr., 1052.

² *Vit. Halin.*, c. 8.

³ *Chron. S. Benig. Div.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii. 237, 238.

⁴ *Ib.* Cf. Herm. Contr., 1052, and Wibert (ii. 8), who says: "Pro reorum (the Hungarians) miseratione, qui contra imperium moverant bellum, persuasoriis precibus imperiales aures expetere."

⁵ Cf. *sup.*, v. 229. ⁶ *Mirac. S. Gerard.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv. p. 508.

⁷ "Non modicus quoque ei inerat fervor in augenda republica." Wibert, *l.c.*

for this, the youngest among the kingdoms of Christendom. However, he came to the conclusion that the tribute promised to Henry by the Hungarians ought to be paid, and, to induce them to pay it, he sent them various legates.¹ Though one of these envoys was no other than the young but already famous Hugh, abbot of Cluny, and though his biographer assures us that he succeeded in his mission,² it would seem that no more than a mere momentary improvement in the relations between the two disputants had hitherto resulted from the strenuous efforts of the Pope. The Hungarians, indeed, had agreed to pay tribute, if the emperor would accept the situation and leave them with the king in whom they trusted. But, "disdainfully refusing to accept the conditions offered by King Andrew,"³ Henry had made an unsuccessful invasion of the country in 1051. His failure only made him more than ever determined to be master of the country. He prepared for another and greater expedition. In despair Andrew begged (1052) the Pope to come and save him from the impending blow. Leo, as we have seen, at once accepted the invitation. But again were his efforts in the cause of peace unavailing. The party at the court which was opposed to him persuaded the emperor not to listen to his moderate counsels;⁴ and another success in the field gained by the Hungarians rendered Andrew no longer disposed to offer any terms at all. Nor could even a threat of excommunication on the part of the Pope induce him to promise again the concessions he had formerly

¹ Wibert, *l.c.*

² Hildebert, *in vit. Hug.*, c. 2, ap. *P. L.*, t. 159, p. 864. "Idem (Hugh, who is here designated as "magnus apud magnos") . . . Romani jussu pontificis in Hungariam profectus, de reformatione pacis," etc. Cf. *Vie de S. Hugues*, by Dom L. Huillier (Paris, 1888), p. 68 f. and p. 582.

³ Herm. Contr., 1051.

⁴ Wibert, *l.c.*

tendered.¹ "And so," concludes Wibert's narrative of these events, "the Roman republic lost its rule over the kingdom of Hungary, and to this day sees with sorrow its borders harried with fire and sword."

In company with the Pope, Henry withdrew from the Hungarian frontier to Ratisbon (October 1052), having acquired from his expedition "neither honour nor material advantage";² and, if we read in Herman that in the following year peace was concluded at the diet of Tribur between Henry and the Hungarians, we must take care not to believe that hostilities between them ceased for any appreciable time.³

Work of
Leo during
the rest of
his stay in
Germany.

During the four months that Leo remained in Germany after the failure of his efforts to bring to a conclusion the differences between the empire and Hungary, he spent much of his time in going about from place to place—for his goodly and saintly presence was everywhere desired—consecrating churches or altars,⁴ translating or verifying relics,⁵ granting privileges,⁶ and settling disputes, as well secular as ecclesiastical.⁷

Diet at
Worms,
Christmas
1052.

But, of course, he did not forget that the Norman question was one of the chief motives that had brought

¹ "Andream . . . experiens deludentem, illum excommunicare minatus est." Herm. Contr., 1052. Wibert, whose account of this matter differs materially from that of Herman, says nothing about this threat, and lays the whole blame of the failure of the negotiations on the court party which was opposed to the Pope. The *Annals of Altaich* (1052) are in accord with Herman. But, of course, as German historians, these authorities were naturally disposed to make the best of the case for the emperor.

² *Ann. Altahenses*, 1052.

³ *Ib.*, 1054.

⁴ Jaffé, sub 4281 (3355), and sub 4284.

⁵ *Ib.*, sub 4279. He was drawn into a controversy regarding the place where the body of St. Denis really reposed, just as some of his predecessors had been with regard to the resting-place of the body of the great St. Benedict. Cf. Delarc, p. 375 ff.

⁶ *Ib.*, 4281, 4287-4290.

⁷ *Ib.*, 4283. Cf. Delarc, p. 381.

him into Germany. He had many discussions with the emperor on the subject; and at length the matter was brought up for settlement before a great assembly of the bishops and nobles of the empire at Worms (Christmas 1052). As the outcome of the deliberations which ensued, two important decisions were arrived at. In view, no doubt, of the ancient imperial donations, and of the recent acts of submission on the part of the Beneventans themselves, Benevento was declared to belong to the Pope, and it was agreed to furnish him with the troops necessary to render that donation effective. On his side Leo consented to surrender his feudal rights in connection with Fulda and Bamberg.¹

Thinking that the poor Apulians were already delivered from their oppressors, Leo took a grateful farewell of the emperor,² and, feeling strong in the army which accompanied him, advanced towards Rome. But his joy was short-lived. Deep in the counsels of the emperor was Gebhard, bishop of Eichstädt, who, as Victor II., was destined to succeed Leo in the supreme pontificate,³ and who is described as "a man of the greatest prudence, and a master of state-craft."⁴ Whether his knowledge of history had taught him that the fever of Italy, if not its armed forces, had ever proved fatal to the German expedi-

Leo leaves
the
emperor.

¹ Herm. Contr., 1053, and *Compend.* Bertholdi, 1053. The latter has: "Ubi (at Worms) cum papa, sicut dudum incoeperat, Fuldensem abbatiam, . . . etc., quæ S. Petro antiquitus donata feruntur, ab imperatore reposcens exegisset, demum imperator, pleraque in Ultraromanis partibus ad suum jus pertinentia pro Cisalpinis quasi per concambium illi tradidit. Cumque idem papa de Normanorum violentiis . . . conquestus esset, ad hos etiam inde propulsandos imperator ei auxilia delegavit." Cf. *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 81.

² "Summa cum caritate ab imperatore . . . digreditur." *Compend Berth.*

³ And to bitterly regret the advice he gave on this occasion. *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 89.

⁴ Leo Ost., ii. 81.

tions in that country, or whether, wholly disapproving of the Pope's policy, he thought it desirable that the Normans should be allowed to exhaust themselves with their wars against the Greeks and the other powers in south Italy before their subjection by the empire was attempted, at any rate, as the result of his advice, the vassals of the empire were forbidden to leave Germany.¹

Leo re-enters Italy with only a few hundred Germans, Feb. 1053.

Consequently, when he entered Italy, Leo was only accompanied by a small troop, consisting of his relations and friends, with their dependants, and of a mixed company of adventurers, many of whom were attracted to the expedition not by the goodness of the cause, but, as always happens in such cases, by the hope of gain or of escaping from the hands of justice at home.² Where Leo had had many thousands he had now but a few hundreds.³ No wonder that, when he reflected that he had failed to accomplish nearly everything which had brought him into Germany,⁴ he felt down-hearted. No wonder, too, that his lowness of spirits caused him to dream uncanny dreams in which his biographer sees a divine premonition of the misfortunes which were to cloud the closing years of his pontificate. He seemed to see himself sheltering within the ample folds of his cope (*sub pluviali veste, quæ cappa vocitatur*) his friends who were flying to him for protection,

¹ Leo Ost., ii. 81.

² "Secuti sunt eum plurimi Theutonicorum, partim jussu dominorum, partim spe quæstus adducti; multi etiam scelerati et protervi, diversasque ob noxas patria pulsi." *Compend.* Bertholdi, 1053. From Leo of Ostia (*l.c.*) we learn that the "lords" were the Pope's relatives, etc.

³ According to Leo of Ostia, "about 500" accompanied the Pope. William of Apulia sets them at more than 700. L. ii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1043.

⁴ "Ubi (at Worms) Leo p. ei (the emperor) valefaciens, *mediocriter* compositis et causis ecclesiasticis et regni negociis." Lambert. Hersf., 1051.

and then finding them wounded, and that his garments were all stained with their blood.¹

Leo's dream was destined to be realised almost to its details first at Mantua, and then at the battle of Civitella. Never for a moment losing sight of the one supreme object of his life, the reform of the Church, he summoned the bishops of certain parts of north Italy to meet him in council at Mantua² (February 21, 1053). If there was one country where, at this period, ecclesiastical discipline was more relaxed than any other, that country was Lombardy. Accordingly, on the present occasion some of its bishops, "fearing Leo's just severity," took steps for rendering any reforming action on his part impossible. Whilst they were sitting solemnly in synod inside the church, their armed retainers fell upon the followers of the Pope, who were standing in fancied security in front of the building. The appearance of the Pope himself on the steps of the church, whither he had promptly betaken himself when the noise of the tumult reached him, did but add to the turmoil. Many of his unarmed attendants were slain, and others were driven away from the church, so that they might not take refuge therein. Stones and darts flew in all directions. Some even fell round the person of the saintly Pontiff himself, actually wounding some of those who crowded round him. Though the riot was with no little difficulty at length quelled, the object of those who had brought it about was gained. The council ended in nothing;³ and on the following day the authors

The
council of
Mantua,
Feb. 1053.

¹ Wibert, ii. 8.

² By a bull of July 27, 1052, Leo had had to condemn the arch-priest and archdeacon of Mantua for bestowing benefices "*quod nefas est dicere, propriis filiis.*" Jaffé, 4279. Cf. what he says of the Church of Lucca, ep. 55.

³ "*Cœptum rigorem concilii imperfectum cœpit relinqui.*" Wibert, ii. 8.

of the disturbance were pardoned by the over-indulgent Pope, "lest he might seem to be punishing them from a desire of vengeance."¹

Returns to
Rome,
March
1053.

Sick at heart, no doubt, but with spirit yet unbroken, Leo returned to Rome by Ravenna and Rimini. About Easter-time (April 1053) he held his usual Paschal synod.² Except that he therein confirmed the privileges of the See of Grado,³ we know not what business was transacted during its session. Whether the "*Norman question*" came up before it for discussion or not, it is certain that it must have been occupying the Pope's attention ever since he returned from Germany. The situation had been daily growing worse. Guaimar IV. of Salerno, who had had, perhaps, some influence with the Normans, had, like many other Italian princes of this period, been assassinated (June 1052), and while the tyranny of the strangers grew daily more oppressive, the resentment of the people, not only of Apulia, but of the territories of the Roman Church, became hourly fiercer. A delegate of the Pope was ill-treated and robbed not far from Rome itself, though he explained his character and "invoked the protection of the Apostolic See." Complaining to Leo of the barbarity displayed towards him, he wrote: "The hatred of the Italians to the Normans has become so intense and deep-rooted that it is almost impossible for one of them to journey in Italy, even if he is on a pilgrimage, without exposing himself to the danger of being assaulted, robbed, stripped naked, cast into a dungeon, and of there dying miserably after a long confinement."⁴ Leo felt that the only remedy for all these evils was the sword. He had exhausted every other means, and had got nothing from

¹ Wibert, ii. 8.

² *Compend.* Bertholdi, an. 1053

³ *Cf. sup.*, v. 219 f.

⁴ Ep. of John, abbot of Fécamp, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143, p. 797.

the wily¹ Normans but words. He accordingly entered into negotiations with various princes ; received promises of considerable support, and in the May of 1053 left Rome for the South. He was destined to return to it in a year only to die.

Passing as usual by Monte Cassino,² Leo moved forward to Benevento, gathering recruits as he went along. He was joined by Adenulfus, duke of Gaeta ; Lando, count of Aquino ; Landulf, count of Teano, and "many others both of low and high degree."³ But the object of the Pope was, if possible, rather to overawe the Normans into complete submission by a display of great military force than really to subdue them by its actual use. For "I desired not the destruction of the Normans nor of any other men ; but I desired that those for whom the thought of the judgments of God had no terrors might be brought to repentance by the fear of man."⁴ Hence, instead of advancing south against Melfi, the centre of the Norman power, he turned north with the object of meeting Argyrus, the Greek Catapan, then residing at Siponto, and of securing his active co-operation.⁵ By the 10th of June

Mustering
of the
papal
forces.

¹ The *wiliness* of the Normans is acknowledged by themselves and dwelt on by others. William of Malmesbury (*De gest. reg.*, l. iii.) says of them that, "where strength fails of success, they are ready to use stratagem or to corrupt by bribery ; . . . they weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments with money."

² He also, as usual, bestowed a privilege upon it. On this occasion he gave the abbot the right of free entry to the port of Rome for the ship and sailors engaged in provisioning the monastery. Jaffé, 4298 ; *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 84.

³ Cf. a judicial document ap. *R. I. SS.*, i. pt. ii. p. 513.

⁴ The words of Leo himself to the Emperor Constantine IX. Ep. 103.

⁵ "Suffultus ergo comitatu, qualem temporis brevitatis et imminens necessitas permisit, gloriosi ducis et magistri Argyroi fidelissimi tui colloquium et consilium expetendum censui." *Ib.* Cf. *Ann. Benevent.*, an. 1053. Leo "mense Junio descendit in Apuliam, cupiens loqui cum Argiro duce imp. Const. Monomachi." It is the anonymous Beneventan author who tells us where Argyrus was then residing, ap. Watterich, i. p. iiii.

he had reached a place called Sale (perhaps Salcito), on the river Biferno.¹ Then, turning south, he crossed, a few days later, the river Fortore, which then, as now, through much of its course, served as the western boundary of Apulia. He crossed it just above its junction with the little stream known as the Staina, and identified with the Astagnum² of the annals of Benevento. When the papal army encamped on the rivulet, it was not far from the little town of Civitas, now a heap of ruins, and was on the direct road to Siponto.

Negotiations with the Normans.

It was, however, no part of the idea of the Normans to allow the Pope to effect a junction with the Catapan. They succeeded in crushing Argyrus before he joined the Pope. Then they marched north, and at length stood between the papal forces and the town of Siponto, separated only by a small hill from the Pope's army.³ Up to this point all is clear enough; but from the strongly partisan character of the sources upon which we have to draw, the truth with regard to the subsequent events is not so easily discovered. There is doubt with regard even to the relative strength of the two armies, and as to the character of the negotiations between them which preceded the battle. Numerically the papal forces were perhaps the stronger,⁴ but they were much inferior both

¹ The document ap. *R. I. SS.*, just quoted, in which for "anno Leonis II." we should read "a. L. V."

² "Castramentatus est super flumen quod dicitur Stagnum (Staina), non longe ab oppido, cui nomen est Civitas." *Anon. Benev., l.c.* Astagnum is clearly "ad stagnum," and not, as thought by some, the diminutive of *ἄστυ*, i.e., Civitella.

³ The site of the battle, from the Ponte Civitate, where Leo crossed the Fortore, to the hill which at first separated the two armies, may be easily traced in Stanford's *Map of South Italy*, by J. Arrowsmith.

⁴ William of Apulia speaks of the Pope's soldiers as countless, and makes the Normans treat for peace: "tantis agminibus visis." L. ii. Bruno of Segni, on the contrary, says that Leo's forces were few, those of the Normans numerous, ap. Watterich, i. 98. In this he is supported

in unity, discipline, and equipment.¹ The Pope's German contingent, while well armed and brave, despised their allies and the Normans alike. However numerous were the rest of his troops, they were short of weapons; and, in their want of discipline, lacked even that courage which it imparts. The Normans, on the other hand, were fellow-countrymen, were inured to war, were well equipped, and were, to a large extent, mounted.² If the English military leaders of the year 1053 had studied the battle of Civitella, they would have seen the advantages of cavalry, and might have avoided the disaster of Senlac (Hastings, 1066).

Neither side was anxious to begin hostilities. The Pope was really wishful to avoid bloodshed, and was sufficiently skilled as a commander to mistrust the fighting quality of most of his forces.³ The Normans were Christian enough not to desire to fight with their spiritual father, and were, moreover, apparently misinformed as to the numbers of their opponents. They therefore sent to treat for peace on condition that they might retain, under the suzerainty of Leo, what they had already won by the sword, and that the Pope would not furnish any help "to their enemies (no doubt the Greeks) who were still in Apulia."⁴

by Berthold, *Compend.*, 1053. But the *Anon. Benev.*, who gives the most accurate details of what concerns this battle, says the forces of both sides were nearly equal in number. "Audiens . . . Leo, Gallorum multitudinem non longe differre a suis." *Ap. ib.*, p. iiii.

¹ "Armorum sui exercitus coartabatur penuria." *Anon. Ben., l.c.*

² "Vix procures istos (the Norman chiefs) equites ter mille sequuntur et pauci pedites." William of Apulia, *l.c.* The Germans, he says, were poor horsemen, but terrible swordsmen, able to cut a man in twain:—

"Illorum gladii, percussum a vertice corpus
Scindere sæpe solent."

³ "Licet hominum multitudo satis sibi videretur copiosa . . . pusillanimitatem tamen multorum in tali negotio timebat." *Anon. Ben.*

⁴ *Anon. Benev., l.c.* "Se paratos esse in famulatum Papæ . . . veruntamen unum fatebantur illis esse molestum et sine sanguinis effusione nullo modo fore futurum: videlicet si eorum inimicis, qui

In this sham offer of peace we may recognise the wiliness of the Norman chiefs, Humfrey, and Richard, count of Aversa, but especially of Robert, surnamed Guiscard, another of the Hauteville family, whose renown was destined to eclipse that of his brothers, and who received his nickname of Wisehead "because in craft neither Cicero nor the wily Ulysses was a match for him."¹

Leo is
forced to
give battle.

Delusive as the terms were, the Pope was disposed to accept them; but his tall and powerful countrymen, either because they were clever enough to see that no real peace was intended by the Normans, or, what is more likely, because they despised their slighter frames,² would listen to no conditions. "If they will not leave the shores of Italy, let them taste of German steel," they said.³ It was to no purpose that Leo endeavoured to moderate their haughty self-reliance.⁴ And so, "with more zeal than knowledge," as Bruno of Segni thought likely, he gave his word for war. But realising only too well that his Italian troops had not the courage of his countrymen, he endeavoured to fire them with a little of his own. "Is it not better to live a life full of honour and glory for one day, and then, if need be, to die, than to lead a lengthy but wretched existence beneath the feet of a foe? Rouse ye, then! Defend your fields, your vineyards, and your homes, adhuc in finibus Apuliæ degebant, auxilium præberet." *Cf. Compend. Bertholdi*, 1053. "Servitium promitterent, et quæ prius injuste sibi usurpantes invaserant, ejus beneficio gratiaque retinere se velle dicerent"; and *Will. of Apulia*, p. 1041:—

" . . . sese papæ parere paratos
Omnes testantur, non hunc offendere velle."

¹ *Apulia*, p. 1042.

² *Ib.* "Corpora derident Normannica, quæ breviora
Esse videbantur."

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.* "Papa, licet tumidis varia ratione renitens,
Non animos gentis potuit sedare superbæ."

your wives, your children, nay, your very selves! Am I asking you to fight that you may win what is another's? No! It is for your country that I bid you fight. If any man should fall this day, it will be well for him. He will be received into Abraham's bosom."¹ With these words ringing in their ears, after they had confessed their sins, and received Holy Communion, the papal army prepared for battle, while the Pope, unwillingly indeed, retired to the town of Civitas or Civitella.²

The conflict opened by the Normans unexpectedly seizing the hill which separated the two armies. Down this they rushed. Checked at first, they succeeded by a ruse in isolating the Germans.³ Then, like sheep, the Italians fled incontinently, and the Normans surrounded the devoted little company of Teutons. Though hemmed in on every side by horsemen, they refused to yield, and the fight began in earnest. Sweeping their long sharp swords around them, as did the men of Kent at Hastings their battle-axes, the heroic Germans long repelled the fierce onslaught of the Norman knights with their lances. "Sweat and blood flowed in streams."⁴ But for every Norman that fell there were a dozen to take his place, while the doomed circle of their foes waned at every moment. At length, when nearly all of them had fallen

The battle
of Civitella,
June 18,
1053.

¹ Such are the words which the anonymous Beneventan puts into Leo's mouth.

² *Ib.* "Ipse vero, quia indignum erat tali interesse negotio, compulsus tamen a suis, Civitatem ingressus est oppidum."

³ "Prima acie a Theutonicis pene victi sunt (the Normans); sed succenturiatis copiis ex insidiis nostros circumvenientes," etc. *Compend.* Berth., an. 1053. Did the Normans feign flight, as at Hastings, or are we here but listening to patriotic exaggeration?

⁴ *Anon. Ben.*, in true Homeric style. Many of the Normans fell. "Set plures ex parte *Agarenorum* (the Normans and not the Lombards, as Watterich's note supposes. The people so detested the Normans that they called them by the same name as the Saracens) interfecti sunt." *Ann. Rom.*, ap. Watterich, or *L. P.*

where they stood, the Norman horsemen, sweeping the remnant before them, rode hot for Civitella. "Having slain the sheep, they longed for the blood of the shepherd."¹ Improvising engines of war,² they poured into the place showers of stones and darts; and, firing buildings in the neighbourhood of the town, threatened it with complete destruction.

Fearing lest the town should be burnt to the ground, Leo resolved to give himself up to the foe, and with the cross before him approached the gate of the city, already half burnt through.³ When lo! "as though caught by the wind," the furious flames veered round, and rushed towards the Normans. The people, who a moment before had, in their terror, thought of surrendering the Pope to his enemies, now implored him not to trust himself to them; and the Normans, threatening to level the town to the earth on the morrow, had to draw off for the night.

Leo gives
himself up
to the
Normans.

At dawn Leo sent to offer to yield himself into the hands of his victorious foes; for, said he, "My own life is not dearer to me than are those of my friends whom ye have slain." The blood-fury of the Normans had passed away, and they replied by making their usual promises of submission to him. When he actually came among them, they lavished upon him every demonstration of respect. The common soldiers prostrated themselves on the ground before him; and the chiefs, with their silken surcoats stained with the

¹ *Anon. Ben.*, l. c. The *anon. biographer* (*B.*), c. 8, is alone in ascribing the defeat of the papal troops to the treachery of Madelfrid, count of Larino, one of their generals.

² *Ib.* "Diversa belli machinantes ingenia."

³ "Quod (the probable burning of the city) cum S. Leo vidisset, suorum compulsus dolore, signo salutis præcedente, ad portam igne jam semiustam, mortem parvipendens, hostium cuneos penetraturus, immemor sui, festinus ire cœpit." *Anon. Ben.*

dust of battle, saluted him on bended knee.¹ In tears they promised him that they would themselves be his soldiers in place of the slain.²

We are next told how the broken-hearted Pontiff went to the field of battle, and how, while praying for the dead, he kept calling out by name those who had been specially dear to him, "as though to lessen the grief in his heart."³ For two days he superintended the burial of the slain in a ruined church that stood hard by. Later on the Normans afterwards renovated it in splendid style, and attached to it a community of monks.⁴ They were anticipating the founding of Battle Abbey.

Escorted by the Normans, and "with a mortal wound in his heart," Leo returned to Benevento.⁵ The news had preceded him that "the soldiers of Christ and the army of the saints had been overcome." In mournful procession the whole people came out to meet him, and with loud cries of grief escorted him within their walls.⁶ He remained with them for some eight months,⁷ and only left them to die.

In his own time there were many who condemned Leo for his appeal to the sword, and their views have been

¹ This is the testimony of all the authorities, as well as of the anonymous author we are still following. Cf. *Ann. Romani*; Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v.; Amatus, iii. 37-39; Wibert, ii. 11; Will. of Apulia, p. 1045; *Anon. biographer (B.)*, c. 8.

² "Jurejurando promittentes, se pro suis quos perdiderat militibus sibi per omnia esse fideles." *Anon.*

³ *Ib.* He goes on to tell us how the Pope derived some consolation from finding that the bodies of his own had been left untouched by animals and birds of prey, whereas those of the Normans had been already injured by them. This seemed to him, says our author, an omen of their eternal felicity.

⁴ Wibert, ii. 11.

⁵ "Rediit Beneventum, civitatem utique b. Petro fidelem et familiarem." Bruno, p. 98; *Anon. B.*, c. 9.

⁶ *Ib.*, and the *Anon.*

⁷ *Anon.*; actually from June 23, 1053, to March 12, 1054. Cf. *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 84, and *Annal. Benev.*, 1053.

Buries the dead.

Returns to Benevento.

Opinions on the action of Leo.

endorsed by many since. Herman of Reichenau was of opinion¹ that his countrymen were vanquished "by a secret judgment of God, either because so great a Pontiff ought to have contended for spiritual treasures, and not to have fought for the goods which perish; or because, to war against the wicked, he led with him men just as wicked—men eager for plunder or anxious to escape justice." To the same effect wrote St. Peter Damian,² and, after him, naturally enough, the Norman, Romuald of Salerno.³ But if men are agreed that to commit a cause to the decision of the God of Battles is sometimes justifiable, it would seem that there can be but little doubt, after what has been said of the causes which drove him to draw the sword, that Leo was pre-eminently justified in so doing in the present instance.

Results of
the battle.

One conclusion, at any rate, regarding this battle is certain. The Popes ultimately reaped more profit from Leo's defeat than they would have done had the battle resulted in a victory for him. Among the unexpected results of the fight at Civitella was that the Papacy secured in the Normans very formidable allies. We have seen how, after the battle, they professed themselves the Pope's soldiers, that is, they acknowledged him as their feudal superior.⁴ Under the circumstances, Leo had no alternative but for the time tacitly to accept the situation. Malaterra, indeed, even states that he not only pardoned the Normans their offences, and gave them his blessing, but "granted to be held in fief of St. Peter, of himself, and of his successors, all the territory which they had already acquired or might hereafter acquire in the direction of Calabria

¹ *Compend. Berth.*, an. 1053. Cf. *Chron. Cas., l.c.* "Normanni Dei iudicio . . . victores."

² Ep. iv. 9, ap. *P. L.*, t. 144.

³ *Chron.*, an. 1053, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii.

⁴ Cf. *sup.*, p. 127, n. 2.

and Sicily.”¹ Though the unsupported testimony of this Norman monk is not regarded as evidence enough to make his assertion credible, the action of the Normans after Civitella certainly laid the foundation of the relation of “lord and man” which afterwards existed between them and the Popes. But as to Leo himself, so far was he from ratifying their conquests, that he did not cease making efforts to oust them from them.²

As another result of the battle, Wibert³ wishes us to believe what he gives as a fact, viz. that the Normans henceforth treated the native population more humanely, and ever after showed themselves faithful servants of the venerable Pope. In this remark there is truth, for, after Civitella, opposition to them largely ceased,⁴ at least throughout most of Apulia.⁵ And in 1060 it is recorded⁶ that “all Calabria, in the presence of Guiscard, the duke, and Roger, his brother (yet another of the Hautevilles who had come to Italy in the meanwhile), settled down in peace and quiet.”

Arguing from Leo's prolonged sojourn at Benevento, and from a passage of a German chronicle,⁷ it has been

Why Leo
remained
at Bene-
vento.

¹ *Hist. Sic.*, i. 14. “Et omnem terram, quam pervaserant et quam ulterius versus Calabriam et Siciliam lucrari possent, de S. Petro, hæreditariæ feudo sibi et hæredibus suis possidendam concessit.” If much the same is stated by the *Anonymus Vaticanus* (Chron. de Rob. Viscart), no further authority is thereby added to the former passage, as the chronicle is regarded as a mere extract from Malaterra. Cf. Molinier, *Les sources d'hist. de France*, n. 2067.

² Cf. his letter to the Emperor Constantine.

³ II. II.

⁴ “Jamque rebellis eis urbs Appula nulla remansit,
Omnes se dedunt, aut vectigalia solvunt.”

William, p. 1045. Cf. Malaterra, ii. 15.

⁵ The surrender of Bari to Robert (c. 1070) put an end to the Greek power in south Italy.

⁶ Malaterra, i. 37.

⁷ Herm. Contr., 1053. “Ibique ne rediret (to Siponto and the Greeks) aliquamdiu detinetur.”

thought that the Normans compelled him to stay there. There does not seem, however, any reason to come to this conclusion. After the Normans had escorted him to the city, they seem to have marched away;¹ and there is nothing to show that he could not have left it at any time. Having experienced the respect the Normans had for his person, he may have remained to prevent them from attacking the city, which they did immediately on his death.² And, later on, it may easily have been the unsatisfactory state of his health which detained him. The disaster of Civitella had inflicted a wound on his tender heart³ which was fatally to undermine his health.

However all this may have been, feeling no doubt that he had not long to live, he redoubled his austerities. Clad in a hair-shirt, he took his rest on a carpet spread on the ground, and used a stone for his pillow. Most of the night he passed in prayer, and during the day he devoted to the Psalter, and to even excessive alms-deeds, the time he could economise from the cares of his position.⁴ And these were greater than ever. For while he was at Benevento, sick in mind, if not at first in body, he was engaged in transactions with Constantinople which were to end in the final religious separation of the East and the West; and, through the increased political isolation of the Eastern Roman Empire thereby effected, in the fall of that city, and in the profound modification of the history not only of Europe, but of the world to the present day.

¹ "Tunc illi . . . cum illo perrexerunt propinquo ipsa civitate, et sic dimiserunt eum, et unusquisque reversus est ad propriam." *Anon. biog. (B.)*, c. 9.

² *Ann. Benev.*, 1054.

³ "Non modicum gerens in pectore vulnus, Beneventum perrexit." *Anon. Benev.* Cf. *Ann. Roman.* "Pontifex vero nimis anxius, ex magno gemitu, dolore atque tristitia cecidit in infirmitatem."

⁴ Wibert, ii. 12. "Quibus (the poor) absque discretione necessaria ministrabat." Cf. Libuinus, *De obitu*, n. 1.

But before we touch on these momentous events, we have something to say in connection with the decaying Church in Africa—a church of which we have heard no word since the days of Sylvester II. Feeble as were at this period, beneath the dead hand of Mahometanism, the wretched remnants of the once glorious Church of Africa, they were rendering themselves still more helpless by internal dissensions. Of the five bishops who were now sufficient for the needs of the once populous African Church, one of them, the bishop of Gummi, or Gummasa, in the old province of Byzacena, usurped the metropolitan rights which belonged to Thomas, the archbishop of Carthage, then a collection of “fine, wealthy, and populous villages”¹ located in different parts of the vast ruins of the ancient city. The archimandrite, Nil Doxopater, who lived at the court of King Roger of Sicily in the twelfth century, alludes to this usurpation when he tells us that “the Roman patriarch obtained the province of Byzacena, in which Carthage now is, and Mauritania.”² In letters now lost, Thomas himself and two of his suffragans, Peter and John, appealed to the Pope. In his reply to Thomas (December 17, 1053), after bewailing the terrible shrinking of the Church in Africa, Leo expresses his pleasure that in its difficulties it turns, as it ought to turn, to the Roman Church.³ He then lays down that, “after the Roman Pontiff the first archbishop and first metropolitan of all Africa is the bishop of Carthage” (who alone in Africa is wont to receive the pallium from the Apostolic See),⁴ and that the

The
Church of
Africa.

¹ El Bekri, *Descript. de l'Afrique* (trad. de M. de Slane), p. 108, a work finished in 1068; quoted by Mas Latrie, *Traité de commerce*, p. 16.

² *De quinque thronis patriarchalibus*, ad init., ap. *P. G.*, t. 132.

³ Ep. 83. “Gaudemus quia S. R. Ecclesiæ matris vestræ sententiam requiritis et exspectatis super quæstionibus vestris.”

⁴ Ep. 84.

bishop of Gummi has no right to consecrate bishops or summon councils without the consent of his metropolitan. But he also lays down at the same time that a general council cannot be celebrated without the consent of the bishop of Rome; nor, without it, can final sentence be pronounced in the case of the deposition of any bishop.¹

From Leo's letter² to Peter and John it appears that his zeal for reform had spread even to Africa, and that at his orders the sad remnant of the African Church had met together in council. He exhorts them to do the like every year; reminds them that the bishop of Carthage is the metropolitan of Africa, and that "he cannot lose a privilege which he has once received from the Holy Roman and Apostolic See, but must keep it to the end of the world . . . whether Carthage remain in ruins or ever again rise gloriously from them."³ In both letters he affirms that it is the teaching of the canons "that all the greater and more complex cases arising in any of the churches must be referred for settlement to the holy and chief See of Peter and his successors."

The latter letter is remarkable, as it contains the first direct appeal by a Pope to the False Decretals.⁴ And it may be noted how natural it was that Leo should have been the first to quote them. They were the decrees with which, as bishop of Toul, he was familiar, and their binding force was everywhere acknowledged. With the Roman

¹ Ep. 83. "Hoc autem nolo vos lateat, non debere præter sententiam R. pontificis universale concilium celebrari aut episcopos damnari vel deponi." In this he is only repeating the dicta of Gregory the Great. Cf. Epp. Greg., ix. 156 (68), 27 (59), 202 (8).

² Ep. 84. "Bene fecistis, quod jussi a nobis concilium de rebus ecclesiasticis habuistis."

³ *Ib.* On November 10, 1887, Leo XIII. re-established the ancient archbishopric of Carthage in favour of one, Cardinal Lavigerie, who had formerly been bishop of Toul. Cf. Brucker, ii. 343, 344.

⁴ Cf. his quotation from Pope Clement I. with the decretal in the False Isidore, ap. *Decret. Pseudo-Isid.*, c. 29, p. 39, ed. Hinschius, Lips., 1863.

canonical tradition he was unacquainted, and, even had there been any need of his making himself familiar with it, he had been too much occupied to make good his shortcomings in this direction. Hence, when questioned by the African bishops as to the rights of metropolitans, it was only to be expected that he would answer in the words of the decrees "of our venerable predecessors, Clement, Anacletus, Anicetus, and the others,"¹ with which he was familiar, and which, with the rest of the Western world, he regarded as genuine.

This faint light from the feeble African Church was promptly obscured, and some time had to elapse before another flickering ray from it pierced the surrounding gloom, and showed that it had not been quite extinguished.²

By way of introduction to the important events concerning the definite suspension of spiritual communion between the East and the West which we have now to chronicle, a few words on the causes³ which led to so disastrous an issue will be to the point. Passing over such powerfully predisposing circumstances as differences of race and language, we may fix as the beginning of the Greek schism

The final
rupture of
the East
and West.
Causes,

¹ "Nunc, quia de archiepiscopis et metropolitans sententiam nostram requiritis, venerabilium antecessorum nostrorum dicta aperte demonstrant, *i.e.*, Clementis," etc. Ep. 84.

² When it fell under the all-embracing ken of St. Gregory VII. there were fewer than three bishops in it. Epp. Greg. VII., i. 22; iii. 19-21. Cf. Holme, *The Extinction of the Churches in North Africa*, p. 233 f.; London, 1898.

³ For a fuller discussion of them see vol. iii. of this work, p. 20 ff. For the history of the schism of Cerularius, see, besides the other authors cited in the sequel: *Dello Scisma Greco*, by Tosti, p. 326 ff. A modern Greek writer, Paparrigopoulo, in his *Hist. de la civilisation hellénique*, a synopsis in French of his *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, Athens, 1865-1877, in six vols., devotes only a few lines to the work of Cerularius. This is no doubt due to the fact that his book is really an *apology*, and consequently to the feeling that the less said about Cerularius the better for the thesis.

the transference by Constantine the Great of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople. If that event enabled the Popes to exercise their spiritual headship of the Church with greater freedom, and facilitated their acquisition of temporal power which is necessary to secure them that freedom, it also ensured the ultimate breaking away of the Eastern Church from the Western.

During the first three centuries of the Christian era, every shred of ecclesiastical history singles out Rome as the chief authoritative centre in the Church. It is impossible to point to any see that then stood out as a rival to its universal authority.¹ But after the establishment of the "New Rome" by the Bosphorus, a rival is easily detected. Constantine, as is well known, gave all bishops large civic powers. Hence self-interest or business naturally brought many of them into immediate contact with the emperor. He formed a number of them into a sort of permanent synod² ever at his beck; and some of them, of course, obtained considerable power over him. The influence exerted over Constantine the Great in the matter of the Arian heresy by Eusebius of Cæsarea in particular has caused him to be marked out as the father of the Greek schism.

Obviously the bishop who came most into contact with the emperor was the bishop of Constantinople. His influence at court soon fired his ambition.³ And the

¹ Cf. Duchesne, *Eglises séparées*, p. 195. This is altogether a most valuable little book.

² The "σύνδοδος ἐνδήμουσα," which was officially the permanent council, and court of the patriarch.

³ Already in the ninth century the *Liber Synodicus*, which gives the acts of the Church of Constantinople, notes how the Orientals themselves animadverted on the fact that it "was swollen with pride, because it was always with the emperors and princes," and how "they feared that in time it would attempt something untoward." Ap. Mai, *Spicileg.*, vii., *præf.*, p. xxxix.

emperor, both for the sake of being attended by the greatest dignitaries, and because he correctly judged that the more the power possessed by one whom he could make his creature, the more he would have himself, favoured his advance. After the time of Constantine, too, we find mention of the rule in the Church, first of the three great patriarchs (Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria), and then of the five (the same, with the addition of Jerusalem and Constantinople); as though the *kingdom* Christ came to found on earth was to be an oligarchy. At any rate, under one pretext or other, the patriarch of Constantinople never lost an opportunity of pushing himself in front of his Oriental brethren, whose power was also woefully reduced by the conquest of the Saracens. Before the ninth century his spiritual position in the East had become paramount. Meanwhile, in the West, the influence of the Roman Pontiffs had greatly increased by the conversion of the Teutonic nations in the seventh and eighth centuries. Often, indeed, before had Pope of Rome and patriarch of Constantinople had serious differences; often before had the bishop of Old Rome been compelled to excommunicate the bishop of New Rome for heresy; but it was in the days of Photius that the East and the West, as such, fairly confronted each other. The astute patriarch of Constantinople, in his attack on Pope Nicholas, made use of the lever of racial feeling—a lever of the most contemptible material, but always the handiest and most effective, if applied judiciously. To win the sympathy of the learned, Photius strove to show that the Latin Fathers were at variance with the Greek on the abstruse question of the Descent of the Holy Ghost; and, to catch the ignorant and unreflecting, he had no difficulty in establishing that the Latins differed from the Greeks in many points of liturgical practice, and in some secondary deductions of dogmatic teaching. It

was the Latins who were endeavouring to corrupt the Church; it was for the Greeks to save it. This evil seed was sown on soil ready to receive it; and, though Photius and his schism died, *it* remained in the ground ready to burst forth into renewed life under conditions in any way favourable.

Between
the schisms
of Photius
and Ceru-
larius, 886-
1054

Despite some trifling disagreements, however, harmony¹ reigned between Rome and Constantinople after Photius ceased to be its patriarch; and once more was the supremacy of the former see acknowledged by the latter.² The Popes' names appeared on the diptychs of the Eastern Churches;³ and though it was generally known during

¹ On this, note the striking testimony of John Veccos, patriarch of Constantinople (1275-1282), who was forced to resign his see under Andronicus Comnenus in consequence of his sympathy with the Latins. He says that during the 170 years which elapsed between Photius and Michael Cerularius, the Latin and the Greek Churches lived in profound peace, "*βαθεία εἰρήνη*," disturbed only by the *political* intrigues (*ἐκ κοσμικῶν πραγμάτων*) of the patriarch. *De injusta sui depos.*, ap. Allatius, *Græcia Orthodox.*, p. 48, quoted by Bréhier, p. xxvi.

² One of the most distinguished of modern students of the Byzantine history of the tenth century is very positive about this: "Dès le début du dixième siècle on s'aperçoit à divers indices très clairs que le siège patriarcal de Constantinople, et cela avec le plein assentiment du Palais Sacré, non seulement entretenait avec Rome des relations fort suivies, mais même reconnaissait d'une manière effective la suzeraineté du Pape occidental." Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, i. 266. Cf. Duchesne, *Eg. Sép.*, p. 198. In proof of this contention, let it suffice to recall the action of the patriarch Theophylactus in obtaining from Pope John XI. the right for himself and his successors to wear the pallium without having to ask the Pope for it; and that of the patriarch Eustathius in trying to buy the title of ecumenical patriarch. Cf. *supra*, vol. iv. p. 199; v. 215.

³ From the letter of Peter, patriarch of Antioch, to Michael Cerularius, we learn that the Popes' names appeared on the diptychs of the Church of Antioch, and he assures us that he had himself seen them on those of Constantinople. Ep. 15, n. 2-5, ap. Will. Cf. the first letter of Michael to Peter, *ib.*, p. 178, n. 9, where he chooses to say that *report* has it that the Popes' names are on the diptychs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem.

this period that diverse liturgical practices and customs obtained in the East and West, the greatest teachers in the latter Church correctly declared that they were of absolutely no moment.¹ Certainly when Michael Cerularius succeeded to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople (March 25, 1042), there was every sign of peace and communion between the two Churches. The Latins had churches at Constantinople, and there were monasteries of Latin monks in the Greek Empire, and even in Constantinople itself, and they were in full communion with its ecclesiastical authorities.² Writing to the Latin abbot and monks of the monastery of St. Mary at Constantinople, St. Peter Damian reminds them that, though in a foreign country, they are in "the bosom of Holy Church . . . and that where there is the one rule of the true faith and a good life, slight differences (of forms and customs) and a diversity of tongues are of no account."³ Parts of the service, too, in Greek churches were said in Latin.⁴

In the West, on the other hand, there were monasteries of Greeks under the protection of Latin bishops.⁵ Those in

¹ Fulbert of Chartres, writing in 1006 (Ep. 3, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141) says: "Nec tamen nos offendit observantiæ diversitas, ubi fidei non scinditur unitas. Porro in multis Græcia ab Hispania, ab illis Romana et Gallicana discrepat Ecclesia. Sed neque in hoc scandalizamus si audimus diversam observationem, sed non diversam fidem in Christi semper Ecclesiis extitisse."

² Cf. Belin, *Hist. de la Latinité de Constantinople*, chap. i.; Paris, 1894.

³ Ep. vi. 13. "Ubi rectæ fidei et sanctæ conversationis idem est meritum, nil præjudicat *diversitas aliqua* varietasque linguarum."

⁴ Ep. Leo IX., 100. "Ad quid vestro imperatori Latinæ laudes et in ecclesia Græcis recitantur Latinæ lectiones?"

⁵ We find them setting aside special altars in their churches where Greeks could hold services according to their own rite. This is told, for instance, of St. Gerard, a predecessor of Leo IX. in the See of Toul. "Cœtum quoque Græcorum . . . agglomerans . . . divisīs altaribus in oratorio ubi Deo supplices laudes persolverent more patrio." *Vit. Gerard.*, c. 19, ap. *Acta SS.*, Apr. 23, p. 210, or ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv.

Rome were under the patronage of the Pope. The princes of the West sent monetary assistance to Greek monasteries in the East.¹ Pilgrims from the West, who in the beginning of this century crowded in great numbers² through Constantinople to Palestine, were invariably treated by the Greeks as in full ecclesiastical communion with themselves. Every fact, indeed, that bears on the subject goes to show that up to 1042 there was no tendency to schism in the Church among the people. It was brought about by ambition and politics, in which, as usual, the interests of the people were neglected.³ Not only, too, was there religious peace between the two races during the period in question, but between their spiritual chiefs there was at least official communion. The Popes continued to approve of the professions of faith duly sent them by the Eastern patriarchs, whilst "they on their side regarded it as needful to send notice of their enthronisation to the See of Peter, and to shelter their own prestige under this high authority."⁴

Michael
Cerularius.

But on the advent to power of Michael Cerularius, "all the fountains of the great deep were broken up," and the deluge of passions he let loose has not yet subsided. Although it is certain that he was one of those ecclesiastics whom the patriarch Veccos afterwards stigmatised as men who disturbed the peace of the Church by their worldly intrigues,⁵ it is not altogether easy to form a

¹ Raoul Glaber, i. 4, n. 21 ; Bréhier, p. 24.

² *Ib.*, iv. 6, n. 18. The Easterns, on the other hand, came to the tombs of the Apostles. Bréhier, p. 29 f.

³ Bréhier, pp. 19, 20.

⁴ *Ib.*, 18. Cf. the letters of Peter, patriarch of Antioch, to Dominic of Grado, and of Leo IX. to Peter, ap. Will, 208 f. and 168 f.

⁵ Hence a well-informed thirteenth-century chronicle (*Σύνοψις χρονική* ap. Sathas, *Bib. Græca Medii Ævi*, t. vii. 164) hints that, in his struggle with Isaac Comnenus, Cerularius made capital out of his resistance to the Pope of Rome. "Τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχοντι, . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ . . . κατὰ τὸν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης πάπαν ἄγων."

correct judgment on his character. In any effort to do so, we are largely dependent on Psellus, and upon two of his writings, both of which, from their very nature, are liable to supply highly coloured portraits; and which, in the present instance, equally naturally, furnish pictures showing quite different features. The documents are first the public indictment of Cerularius, drawn up by Psellus after the former's fall (1059),¹ and then a funeral oration² pronounced (*c.* 1062) by the very same man a few years after the patriarch's death (December 17, 1059). Still, in much that he advances regarding the patriarch, Psellus has the support of other authorities. In what follows that only will be set down which seems indubitable.

The powerful mainspring which kept in full action the consuming energies of the aspiring spirit of Michael Cerularius was his fixed resolve not to be second. "I will not serve" was his motto. Born of a senatorial family,³ he was blessed with a good father and mother; and we read of the assiduity with which his father used to impress upon him to be circumspect, not to make friends of casual acquaintances, and to love religion.⁴ Perhaps his subsequent haughty, "touch-me-not" attitude and his overweening pride may be traced to his having pushed too far the former portion of his father's advice. The means of the very best education were placed at his disposal, and he soon manifested a taste for serious studies, for logic,

His
yearning
for tem-
poral
authority.

¹ Πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον κατηγορία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. This work still lies unedited in the Bib. Nationale at Paris. It is, however, extensively quoted by Bréhier. Cerularius is there accused at length of impiety, tyranny, murder, sacrilege, and general unfitness for his position, both from his coarse manners and speech, and from his haughty pitilessness. Bréhier, p. 292 ff.

² Ap. Sathas, *ib.*, t. iv.

³ Bréhier, 52 ff.

⁴ "Ἐκόσμει δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὸ περισκευεμένον τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἡ εὐλογος σιωπή, καὶ τὸ μὴ ταχὺ θαρρεῖν οἷς ἅπαξ εἴη ὠμιληκῶς . . . καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰ ἄγια τεθάρρηκεν εἰσοδόν." Psellus, *Ἐφίταρῆιοι λόγοι*, p. 307.

philosophy, natural science, and theology. His love of natural science, however, seems to have been rather a love of the marvellous, and led him to consort with astrologers, seekers after the philosopher's stone, and hypnotisers.¹

In his early years he does not seem to have felt any inclination to devote himself to the service of the Church, but began life by attaching himself to the court. Love of power at once took hold of him. He would himself be emperor.² It was not long before he found an opportunity of trying to gratify his evil ambition.

The last descendants of the family of Basil the Macedonian were three sisters. Of these the youngest, Zoe, after reigning with one husband, Romanus (†1034), was now on the throne with her second, Michael IV., the Paphlagonian (1034-1041). His tyranny made him many enemies. With his brother and many other notables, Cerularius entered into a conspiracy against him. The plot was discovered, and the brothers were exiled. The suicide of his brother, who was unable to endure the hardships to which he was subjected, had precisely the same effect upon Michael as the death by lightning of a companion had upon Martin Luther. Both became monks, but when they put on the lowly garb of the cloister, neither of them clothed himself with the lowly, retiring spirit which becomes a monk. On the death of the Paphlagonian, his nephew, Michael V. (1041-1042), possessed himself of the empire, and granted an amnesty by which Cerularius profited. But the people were true to the Macedonian dynasty, and rose in revolt. Michael V. was deprived of his eyes, and Zoe, called again to the throne, took to herself a

¹ Bréh., pp. 72, 250, 271.

² This is asserted not merely by the indictment of Psellus (ap. Br., 56) but by Scylitzes (*ib.*), who wrote his *Compend. Hist.*, c. 1081; he tells us that Michael "aimed at the tyranny." Cf. Finlay, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 504.

third husband in the person of Constantine. For this purpose she recalled him from the exile into which Michael IV. had sent him for treason. To emphasise his views on the Paphlagonian, Constantine signalised his advent to power by receiving into favour men whom his enemy had condemned. Among others who benefited by this course of action was Michael Cerularius, who soon found himself once again in a fair way to satisfy his unholy thirst for power; for Constantine, to attach so strong a man to his person, at once began to push forward his interests. Over his sovereign, feeble in body, weak in mind, easy-going, extravagant, and lustful,¹ Cerularius gained complete control;² and, as we shall see further on, he had no scruple in rousing the people against his benefactor, when he did not find him sufficiently subservient to his will. The third time he raised his hand against his sovereign (Michael VI., *Stratioticus*), he succeeded (1056) in driving him from his throne into a monastery.³ But at last his vaulting ambition had o'erleaped itself. In Michael's successor (Isaac Comnenus) he found he had fashioned not a tool, but a master. Before he could strike him down, he found himself in exile and in prison (1059), and was only saved by a speedy death (December 17, 1059) from public degradation, or worse.

Such was the man who, on March 25, 1042, became patriarch of Constantinople,⁴ and, if we are to believe the indictment,⁵ proceeded to lead a life that befitted neither

Cerularius
becomes
patriarch.

¹ Bréh., p. 35 f.; Finlay, *l.c.*, 501 f.

² According to Psellus, both ecclesiastical and civil concerns were entrusted to him: "Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγνώκει τοῦτον μέτοχον ἅμα τῶν τε θειοτέρων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐκατέροις ἐφίστησι." *Epitaph.*, p. 325.

³ *Cf. inf.*, p. 157. Scylitzes (p. 637, ed. Bonn.) distinctly ascribes to him the dethronement of Michael VI. "Κὰκ τούτου τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπροφάσιτος ἐφάνη ὁ πατριάρχης μὴ μόνον μέτοχος ὦν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρωταίτιος τῆς ἀποστασίας."

⁴ There is some evidence that he owed his election to bribery, direct or indirect. *Cf.* Bréhier, pp. 64-69.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 71, 72.

a monk nor a bishop of the Holy City. Psellus gives a graphic picture of a morning at the patriarch's palace: "Its halls are never for a moment quiet. First one comes in and then another. At one moment it is a dyer, at another a skilled artificer; then come a vendor of spices, a water-carrier, a knife-grinder, and a confectioner; presently appear a goldsmith and a lapidary. One brings one thing to show him and another another. One offers him a costly cup of translucent crystal, a second a vase of Thericles, both enhanced by new epithets and a wealth of phraseology. Afterwards it is the turn of the fish-mongers. Anon he is asked to listen to silver blackbirds and golden blackcap-warblers pouring forth their peculiar notes by means of some pneumatic contrivance. Then are presented to his view scent-bottles embossed in gold, diamonds, lychnites, carbuncles, and pearls, either natural ones, perfectly round and translucent, or such as had been fashioned by fire. All these things the patriarch used to admire, some for their beauty, or for their form, and others for their mechanism. In their turn, too, come astrologers, and those who in the eyes of the ignorant are accounted prophets, not indeed because they know anything of prophecy, but because it is their nationality that is trusted and not their skill, because one is an Illyrian and another a Persian."¹ In all this there is no necessity to see more than the magnificent prelate of the type of our own Cardinal Wolsey. But if in the brighter side of his character he resembled that great English churchman, if he was like him in his dignified bearing, in the grandeur of his ideas, in his commanding influence over

¹ Needless to say, this passage is from the indictment. Bréhier gives the original Greek (p. 72), and it is from that we have made the translation in the text; but as the Greek would seem to be corrupt, we have had in parts to be content to aim at reproducing the sense and not at giving a precisely literal rendering.

men and things, and even in some of his ambitions, another phase of his disposition presents him in quite a different light. His love of power made him utterly unscrupulous as to the means he used to gain his ends. He could be revengeful¹ and cruel,² and, like Photius, could even stoop to forgery;³ and, to win for himself the headship of the state, he did not hesitate to sunder Christ's seamless garment. For his ultimate object in throwing off all subjection to Rome, and in making himself the untrammelled ruler of the Greek Church, was the attainment of absolute power.⁴ It was with that object in view that he deliberately began a quarrel with the Pope.

Soon after his accession to the patriarchal throne, Cerularius seems to have initiated a misunderstanding with Rome by striking the name of the Pope off the diptychs.⁵ Then in private conversation he began to attack the Latin custom of using unfermented bread (*azymes*) for the sacrifice of the Mass. But till the very close of Leo's pontificate there was no public knowledge either in the East or the West of any want of cordiality in the relations between Rome and Constantinople. Peter III., who became patriarch of Antioch about 1052, sent as usual his synodical letter to Rome. To this document, now lost, Leo

Cerularius begins a quarrel with Rome, c. 1042, (a) privately.

¹ Cedrenus (*Hist. Compend.*, p. 550, ed. Bonn.) assures us that it was the general belief that he was the contriver of the blinding of John, the Orphanotrophos, the agent of the oppressions of Michael IV., and the author of his banishment: "παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐγκοτῶντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς ὑπεροπίας." Cf. Bréhier, pp. 77, 265.

² Br., 265.

³ *Ib.*, 116.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 81, 217.

⁵ Muralt (*Essai de Chronol. Byzant.*, St. Petersburg, 1855) notes (p. 626), after quoting Joel (63, 10), that, according to the MS., C., this zealot (Cerularius) on his accession struck off the name of the Pope from the diptychs on account of the question of the azymes. Cf. Bréhier, p. xxv. f. and 91 f. Joel was a poor, early thirteenth-century Greek author, but according to Bréhier (p. xxv.) this notice comes from a marginal note in an MS. of Cedrenus by a twelfth-century monk.

sent a reply¹ in the early part of the year 1053. He spoke of the blessing of unity in the Church,² and expressed his pleasure that Peter had, in accordance with ancient custom, sent notice "to the apostolic and first see" of his election and of his faith. After setting forth the supremacy of the See of Peter, he declared that that of Antioch ranked as the third of the greater sees, and exhorted him not to be deterred "by the pomp or arrogance of anyone whatsoever" from defending the honour of his see. He confirmed Peter's election on the understanding that he had passed through the regular ecclesiastical grades, and that it had not been obtained by simony.³ The profession of faith of the new patriarch is declared "to be thoroughly sound, catholic, and orthodox"; and then, in conclusion, Leo's own profession of faith is given.⁴

(b) Openly. The time, however, came at length when Cerularius thought he might attack Rome with advantage. Word reached him that the Pope was in difficulties with the Normans. Accordingly, a letter⁵ was at once dispatched by him, bearing the name of Leo, "archbishop of Bulgaria," *i.e.*, of the See of Achrida, to John, bishop of Trani, in Apulia; but, as the letter itself stated, really "to all the bishops of the Franks, and to the most revered Pope." The Latin Church, through its use of azymes, and its

¹ Ap. Will, p. 168; *P. L.*, ep. 101.

² "Neque enim Deus, qui unus est, in scissuris mentium, sed in sola unitate et puro corde habitat." *Ib.*

³ "Noveris tamen nos ipsam tuam promotionem taliter approbare si non hanc neophytus aut curialis seu digamus vel pretio aut alio quolibet modo sacris canonibus contrario, quod absit, obtinuisti." *Ib.*

⁴ The Holy Ghost is spoken of "a Patre et Filio procedentem." *Ib.* Leo says he receives the *seven* councils, no doubt leaving out mention of the eighth to spare the feelings of the Greeks.

⁵ In Greek and in Latin (Cardinal Humbert's translation), ap. Will, p. 56 ff. *Cf.* Wibert, ii. 9.

custom of fasting on Saturday, is denounced as Jewish, and, through its allowance of the eating of blood,¹ as barbaric. At the same time, the patriarch distributed all through the Greek Church a violent pamphlet against the Latins, written for him in Latin² by a monk of the Studium named Nicetas Stethatos (Pectoratus), and then proceeded to close the Latin churches³ in Constantinople. This was accomplished by the Greeks with a brutality which was in accord with the violence of their language. They went to the outrageous length of trampling on the hosts which had been consecrated by the Latins.⁴

When the letter of the archbishop of Bulgaria was brought to the notice of the Pope, understanding at once whence it proceeded, he addressed to Michael Cerularius and his associate a letter⁵ both long and strong. Of its length its author was fully aware, but excused it thus: "As you do not blush at your loquacity, nor fear to indulge it, it behoves us not so much to blush at taciturnity as to fear to be guilty of it; for many souls depend upon us, which through the calumnies of false brethren would perish, if we were silent."⁶ With a complete grasp of the situation, the Pope devoted neither time nor space

Leo writes to Michael and to Leo of Achrida, Sept. 1053.

¹ The archbishop's reason for condemning the use of blood as food is remarkable: "An nescitis quod omnis animalis sanguis anima ipsius sit, et qui comederit sanguinem animam comedit." Will, p. 63. Many of the *reasons* advanced in this controversy are equally extraordinary, not to say childish.

² Ap. Will, p. 127 ff.

³ Leo IX., ep. 100. With this narrow-minded conduct, Leo contrasts the action of the Roman Church in not merely allowing, but exhorting the Greek churches in and about Rome to observe their traditional customs.

⁴ See the sentence of excommunication against Cerularius and his abettors. *Ib.*, pp. 154, 164.

⁵ Ap. Will, p. 65 ff.; *P. L.*, ep. 100.

⁶ *Ib.*, n. 40.

to replying to the various charges,¹ most of them, in comparison with unity at least, absurdly trifling, but developed the position in the Church of the bishop of Rome, and the absolute need of submission to him, as to the head, on the part of its various members.

The letter opened with a eulogy on the blessings of peace and unity, and a denunciation of those who sow tares, and hence of Cerularius and Leo, "most dear to us, and still to be accounted our brethren in Christ." For "with a presumption altogether new, and with incredible audacity," they had openly condemned, as report had it, "the Apostolic and Latin Church" for its use of azyms. As though "our Father who is in heaven had hidden from Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, the rite (*cultum sive ritum*) of the visible sacrifice . . . to whom He had deigned to reveal the ineffable mystery of the invisible divinity of His² Son." The respective attitudes of the See of Rome and of that of Constantinople towards heresy are then contrasted. "Have not," he asked, "all the false doctrines of heretics been combated and condemned by the See of Rome; and have not the hearts of the brethren been confirmed in the faith of Peter, which has never failed and never will fail?"³ On the contrary, has not the Christian world been scandalised by the heresies and ambition of many of the patriarchs of Constantinople? It must have been, for it has seen Eusebius and others supporting the doctrines of Arius, Macedonius blaspheming the Holy Ghost, Nestorius denying that Mary was the mother of God, Anthimus teaching Eutychianism, and

¹ He notes, towards the close of his letter (n. 40), that in reply to their calumnies he is sending them extracts bearing on the subjects from "our venerable fathers": "deinde, ut Deus inspirabit, nostra rescripta." Of this enclosure there is now no trace.

² Ep. 100, n. 6. Cf. Matt. xvi. 17.

³ N. 7.

more than four hundred years of usurpation by the patriarchs of Constantinople of the title of *Ecumenical*. He would not, he said, speak of the heresy of Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul,¹ but added that, "unmindful of what you are doing," you are arraigning that see which the emperors themselves have often declared to be the Head of all the Churches of God. Then to show how far the Eastern emperors had gone in honouring the Roman Church, he proceeded to cite at length the document now known as the "False Donation of Constantine," but then universally believed to be genuine. "But," continued Leo, "we have on this matter a testimony greater than that of Constantine, 'who is of the earth, and of the earth he speaketh' (St. John iii. 31). Scarcely do we accept man's testimony, we who are filled with the witness of Him who came down from heaven, and is above all, and who said, 'Thou art Peter,' etc." ²

They must then cease to speak of the Latins, whose faith is that of the world, as azymites; and the See of Constantinople must submit to that of Rome as to its mother.³ For, as "no divine or human sanction made it (originally) more honourable or more illustrious than any of the other churches," it owed its position among them to the recognition of the Roman Church.⁴ Let it not then envy

¹ Nos. 8-10.

² N. 15. Leo then proceeds to enlarge upon the well-known Petrine texts. Once again we cannot but note that the Popes themselves and all who revere their position have ever primarily grounded papal authority on the words of Jesus Christ set forth in the above-mentioned texts.

³ Rome, says the Pope, is the spiritual mother of Constantinople, inasmuch as it was founded by Constantine and the nobles of Rome. "Quam (the Church of Const.) per gloriosum filium suum Constantinum et nobiles sapientesque Romanos non tantum moribus, sed et muris studuit reparare (the Roman Church)." N. 23.

⁴ N. 18.

us. "For lo! we regard your glory as ours. Why then do you strive to destroy what has been given to us both by God and man? Does not the hand or the foot count as its own the honour or dishonour which falls on the head? . . . If you felt not in you what we have said about the harmony of the body . . . you live not in the body; and if you live not in the body which is Christ, you are none of His. Whose then are you? You have been cut off and will mortify, and, like the branch pruned from the vine, you will burn in the fire—an end which may God's goodness keep far from you."¹

Conciliatory letters of the emperor and patriarch.

Whether this vigorous letter produced any effect on Cerularius or not, it is certain that the news he received from Italy caused the greatest alarm to the emperor. John, bishop of Trani, had been sent by Argyrus to tell him that he had himself been worsted by the Normans, and was lying wounded at Viesti, and that his defeat had been followed by that of the Pope at Civitella.² Fearing lest the Pope should cease to oppose the Normans, and that they would soon be masters of the whole of south Italy, Constantine not only wrote to the Pope encouraging him to continue to resist the Normans

¹ N. 39. The Pope has proved a true prophet. As the patriarch of Constantinople cut himself off from Rome, the archbishop of Bulgaria and his other subordinates, one after the other, made themselves wholly independent of him, and he is now only the "magni nominis umbra." "As the political importance of Constantinople declined, and new states branched off from her, so the spiritual dominions of her bishop contracted themselves, and autocephalous metropolitans arose in all directions. The orthodox monarchs of Georgia and Abkhasia each supported his own *Catholic*. Servia, when raised to political importance, consecrated its own patriarch at Uschize. Russia, so long faithful to Constantinople, at length claimed a fifth patriarchal throne for Moscow (sixteenth century). Even in our own times, we have seen Greece proclaim its Holy Governing Synod autocephalous." J. M. Neale, *A Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, i. 9.

² *Anon. Barensis Chron*, ann. 1052-1053, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v.

and promising help, but induced Cerularius¹ to do likewise.

In reply to these two letters, now lost, Leo sent other two by the hands of Cardinals Humbert and Frederick (chancellor of the Roman Church), and of Peter, archbishop of Amalfi. The emperor was thanked for his endeavours to make peace, and at the same time was assured that the Pope would never cease to oppose the Normans, and that he expected help against them from both Germany and Constantinople. He was, moreover, asked to restore the rights and patrimonies of the Roman Church in the imperial portion of south Italy, and was told of the aggressive conduct of Cerularius.² In his letter to the last-named, while thanking him for his peaceful overtures, and impressing on him that it was his desire to have peace with all men, and especially with him, "who he perceived could be a most valuable servant of God if he would not strive to transgress the limits laid down by the Fathers," he blamed him for encroaching on the rights of others, and said: "You have written to us that if, through us, your name is venerated in one Roman Church, you will make ours held in honour throughout the whole world. What is this monstrous idea, dearest brother? Has not the Roman Church, the head and mother of the churches, (devoted) members? Hence any body that is not in agreement with her is no church, but a collection of heretics, a conventicle of schismatics, and a synagogue of Satan."³

Leo's
answers to
them, Jan.
1054.

Anguish for the disaster at Civitella had evidently not

¹ He confesses this in his first letter to Peter of Antioch. He wrote: "Cum humilitate multa . . . ut benevolum ac familiarem eum ad auxilium nobis adversus Francos præstandum haberemus." Ap. Will, p. 174, n. 3. Cf. the second letter of the Pope to Cerularius (ep. 4, ap. Will, p. 92), where he says: "Sicut cœpisti, collabora, ut duo maxima regna (the two empires) connectantur pace optata."

² Ep. 3, ap. Will, p. 85; *P. L.*, ep. 103. ³ Ep. 4, ap. Will, p. 91.

completely broken the spirit of Leo IX. He would yield neither to the swords of the Normans nor to the overbearing insolence of an Eastern patriarch. To be more completely in touch with the course of events, he found heart enough to devote himself to the study of Greek.¹

The papal
legates
reach
Constanti-
nople,
1054.

His legates, whom as usual he had accredited to the emperor and not to the patriarch, reached Constantinople² before his death (April 19, 1054), and made it plain to the haughty patriarch that they had come in the name of a superior to receive the submission of a subordinate. They entered the imperial palace with cross and crosiers, offered no obeisance to Cerularius, and would not suffer him to treat them as his inferiors. This was gall and wormwood to the proud patriarch, and he was utterly unable to conceal his soreness. Of course, he wrote,³ if they were insolent towards the emperor, it was no cause for wonder that they would not bend their heads "to our mediocrity, *πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν μετριότητα.*"

Received with the greatest honour by the emperor, the legates were lodged, not, according to custom, in the "Placidia"⁴ Palace, but in the Fountain (*πηγὴ* or *πηγαί*) or Pigi Palace,⁵ an imperial pleasure-resort outside the walls of the city, near the health-giving sacred spring now in the little village of Balukli, some half-mile from the Selivri Kapoussi Gate, formerly known as the Gate of the Spring. As early as Justinian's time there was a church there (S. Mary at the Fountain), as Procopius says, "in the

¹ Wibert, ii. 12.

² *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 88.

³ Falsely, as the whole course of events show. Cf. his first letter to Peter, n. 6, ap. Will, p. 177.

⁴ This palace was situated at the eastern end of the promontory, beyond St. Irene, which is now in the grounds of the Seraglio, and looked over the Bosphorus to the churches of Chalcedon.

⁵ Cf. *Brevis comment. eorum quæ gesserunt apocris.*, n. 2, ap. Will, p. 150 ff. This most important document was probably the work of Cardinal Humbert, and is on the face of it worth of all credence.

place which is called the Fountain, where there is a rich grove of cypress-trees, a meadow whose rich earth blooms with flowers, a garden abounding with fruit, a fountain which noiselessly pours forth a quiet and sweet stream of water—in short, where all the surroundings befit a sacred place.”¹ The irony of fate, that that which was destined to be the most bitter and enduring quarrel ever waged between the East and the West should be so closely connected with such a peaceful spot!

One of the first acts of the papal legates was to take cognisance of the pamphlet of the monk Nicetas, in which, while saluting the Romans “as the glorious eye of the Church of God and of the whole world,”² he exhorted them, in a very superior tone, to abandon their use of azyms—for it was not bread at all,³ but a dead substance lacking the life that comes from fermentation—their Jewish habit of fasting on Saturdays, and the practice of clerical celibacy. It will be observed that not a single article of Christian belief held by the Latins, not even the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, is challenged. But the points urged, however, were carefully chosen. They were calculated to unite the mass of the Greeks against Rome. The Greek clergy as a body, not unnaturally

The legates
reply to
the treatise
of Nicetas.

¹ *Constantinople*, p. 284, by W. H. Hutton (Medieval Towns series). Cf. Will, *l.c.*, p. 151 n.

² Ap. Will, n. 18, p. 135. “Cum sitis (Romani) ecclesiæ Dei et totius orbis semper splendidus oculus.”

³ A pre-eminently Greek proposition, “Azymum autem non est panis,” n. 2. Neale declares that “the more learned prelates of the Eastern Church have never denied the validity of azymes”; and he quotes Theophylact, archbishop of Achrida, in his ‘Comment. on St. Luke,’ c. 22, etc. *A Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 1073; London, 1850. This quotation is from Neale’s *Dissertation on the Azymes*, pp. 1051–1077. He believes that “the early ages regarded the matter as indifferent” (p. 1068), and that, while in the West for the first seven or eight centuries both leavened and unleavened bread were used, in the East, speaking generally, only leavened bread was used.

dreading the stricter discipline of the West, would be turned against it by the question of celibacy; while the populace, unable to comprehend the difference between what was of revealed truth, what was part of the inviolable deposit of faith, and what was of mere temporary practice or discipline, were taught to look with horror on those who, through their use of what was not bread, would deprive them of the Body of their Lord.

Both of the cardinals issued tracts against that of Nicetas.¹ Two from the pen of Cardinal Humbert have come down to us. The first,² in the form of a dialogue between a Greek and a Latin, is moderate enough in tone, and replies in detail and in general terms to the propositions of Nicetas. But the second is a violent invective, and is directed in a very personal manner against the monk himself. He blamed him for breaking the decrees³ of the council of Chalcedon by not attending to his monastic duties, and by mixing in public affairs. "Led on by your own will and inclinations, you have snarled snappishly at the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church, and the councils of all the Holy Fathers, and, more stupid than the ass, have endeavoured to break the lion's skull, and a wall of adamant."⁴ He showed himself especially indignant that the Greeks, whom he accused of shocking carelessness in their treatment of the sacred species,⁵ should have the effrontery to wish to teach the Latins how to celebrate the Eucharistic sacrifice.

¹ Wibert, ii. 9.

² Ap. Will, p. 96 f. These tracts also ap. *P. L.*, t. 143. Brucker (ii. 323) has published for the first time another tract written by him at the request of the emperor, who wished for enlightenment on the question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son.

³ Can. 4.

⁴ *Responsio*, n. 1, ap. Will, p. 137.

⁵ N. 24. He makes similar charges in his *Dialogus*, n. 28 f.

This castigation had a good effect upon Nicetas. At a public disputation in the monastery of the Studium, in the presence of the emperor and his court (June 24, 1054), he at first upheld his doctrines against the Roman Church. That the whole assembly might follow the discussion, all the documents had been translated into Greek. However, at the close of the debate the monk anathematised his own writings, and "all those who denied that the Holy Roman Church was the first of all the churches, and who presumed to question in anything its ever-orthodox faith."¹

Recantation of Nicetas.

Meanwhile, the Pope, who died on April 19, 1054, had already played his last part in this important drama. In an effort to attach to himself the patriarch, Peter of Antioch,² he seems to have caused his friend Dominic, patriarch of Grado, to write to him towards the beginning of the year 1054 a very flattering letter, in which he unfolded the attack that had been made upon the Latins. Displaying a broad-mindedness which was conspicuous among the Greeks by its total absence, he pleaded that the East and the West should be allowed to follow in peace their respective customs in the matter of the use of leavened or unleavened bread. "For while the mixture of wheat and leaven which is used by the churches of the East, typifies the nature of the Incarnate Word, the simple unleavened bread used by the Roman Church clearly represents the purity of our human flesh assumed by the

Last act of the Pope in relation to the schism.

¹ "Insuper anathematizavit cunctos, qui ipsam S. E. R. negarent primam omnium ecclesiarum esse, et qui illius fidem semper orthodoxam præsumerent in aliquo reprehendere." *Commém. brev.*, n. 1. Cf. n. 2, where we are told that he went afterwards to the Pigi Palace, and "iterum sponte anathematizavit omnia dicta," etc. Later on he turned against the Latins once again.

² His sway, nominally at least, stretched from Iberia to Bagdad. Bréhier, 238.

Divinity.”¹ The letter closed with an exhortation to Peter to work for unity, touchingly reminding him that by the words² of our Lord we have not life in us if we do not eat of His body, and that, “if the oblation of unfermented bread is not the body of Christ, then have we no life in us.”³

To this brief, admirable, and conciliatory letter Peter returned a very lengthy and unsatisfactory answer.⁴ Though acknowledging his own unworthiness, he cannot understand Dominic’s claim to the title of patriarch. There are only “in the whole world, by the dispensation of divine grace, five patriarchs, viz. those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.”⁵ Now the body of man has five senses, and that of the Church five patriarchs. Where, then, is there room for a sixth? Then follows a long diatribe against the use of unleavened bread, and an assertion that those who use it are in danger of falling into the heresy of Apollinaris.⁶ In fine, he says, he would be glad if Dominic would forward his letter to the Pope, in order that he might accept the ideas therein set forth, and that all might offer the same oblation in the same manner. The intervening hand of death in all

¹ Ep., n. 3, ap. Will, p. 205 f., or ap. *P. L.*, t. 141. ² St. John vi.

³ “Si ergo infermentati panis oblatio corpus Christi non est, omnes nos alieni sumus a vita.” Will, p. 208.

⁴ Will, p. 208 ff. Peter, who had no knowledge of Latin (*cf.* his letter to Cerularius, n. 24), was able to reply to Dominic’s letter, as it was accompanied by a Greek version.

⁵ N. 3. Indeed, he continued, strictly speaking, the actual title of *patriarch* belongs only to Antioch. The bishop of Rome is known as Pope, of Constantinople as archbishop, of Alexandria as Pope, of Jerusalem as archbishop, and of Antioch as patriarch. This notion seems peculiar to Peter himself.

⁶ N. 23. St. Peter Damian, on the other hand, showed himself of a very much broader mind on this question of the azymis. “Sufficiat ergo mihi dumtaxat offerre . . . quod ex frumento conficitur.” Ep. ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 969.

probability prevented Leo from ever seeing this letter of Peter, patriarch of Antioch.

What has yet to be related of the doings of Leo's legates took place, for the most part, after his death, and during the subsequent vacancy of the Holy See.¹ Their efforts to induce Cerularius to withdraw his attacks on the Roman Church concerning, not the deposit of the faith, but mere matters of local observance, were unavailing. They saw him with the emperor; they interviewed him at his own palace.² But at length, accusing them of overweening pride,³ he absolutely refused to have any further communication with them.⁴ If in these meetings there was indeed a display of haughtiness of word and mien, the greater manifestation of these unamiable qualities will assuredly have been made by the patriarch himself. For he equalled in pride, we are told, even a particularly proud⁵ emperor. And we know that, later on, maintaining that from any point of view there was very little difference between the priesthood and royalty, while from the point of view of higher things the former was of more account than the latter, he suited the action to the word, and assumed the distinctive mark of the imperial dignity, the purple buskins.⁶

Cerularius
is excom-
municated,
July 16,
1054.

¹ Leo's successor, Victor II., was not elected till April 1055.

² Cf. his first letter to Peter of Antioch, n. 6.

³ They approached the emperor, he wrote (*ib.*), "μετὰ σοβαροῦ καὶ γαύρου σχήματος καὶ φρονήματος καὶ βαδίσματος"; and when they came "to his mediocrity," "τί ἂν τις εἶποι ὁπόση ὑπερφηφανεία καὶ ἀλαζονεία καὶ αὐθαδεία ἐχρήσαντο."

⁴ *Brev. Commem.*, n. 3; Cerul., ep. 2, ad Petrum, n. 3.

⁵ Isaac Comnenus. "Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ πατριάρχης ἤττον ἐκείνου πεφρονημάτιστο· ἤθελεν οὖν ἐπιτασσεῖν αὐτῷ. Zonaras, *Epit.*, xviii. 3 f., ed. Bon., 1897. Hence Scylitzes tells us that after he had secured the accession to the throne of Isaac he used to extract from him by threats all he wanted: "I made you, you toad; I will unmake you." "Ἐὼ σε ἐκτίσα, φροῦνε· ἐὼ ἵνα σε χαλῶσω" (p. 643, ed. Bon., 1839.)

⁶ Ἱερωσύνης γὰρ καὶ βασιλείας τὸ διάφορον οὐδεν ἢ καὶ ὀλίγον εἶναι ἔλεγεν, ἐν δέ γε τοῖς τιμωτέροις καὶ τὸ πλέον τάχα καὶ ἐρίτιμιον." Scylitzes, *ib.* Ἐπεβάλετο δὲ καὶ κοκκοβαφῇ περιβαλεῖν πέδιλα." *ib.*

After the legates had waited at Constantinople for the greater part of a month (June 25 to July 15), finding that they were no nearer coming to any understanding with the patriarch, they resolved publicly to excommunicate him. Betaking themselves to the great Church of S. Sophia "at the third hour," just as Mass was about to begin, they denounced to the assembled people the obstinacy of their patriarch. Then they placed on the altar a deed of excommunication against him,¹ which Cerularius would have us believe² was immediately snatched from it by some of the attendant subdeacons, and thrown on the ground. As the legates refused to take it back, "it fell into the hands of many persons. Whereupon our mediocrity took possession of it, that the blasphemies in it might not be (further) promulgated."³

The bull of
excom-
munica-
tion.

The bull of excommunication proclaimed that the legates found "the columns of the empire and its honourable citizens" most Christian and orthodox, but Michael, "falsely (abusive)⁴ styled patriarch," and his supporters, disseminators of heresy. They were accused of practising simony, of promoting eunuchs even to the episcopacy, of rebaptising the Latins, of failing to observe clerical celibacy, of denying the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, and of many other things of less moment. Consequently, because furthermore they despised the letters of Pope Leo, refused to meet his legates, and would not allow them a church in which to say Mass, the

¹ "Hora tertia die *sabbati* (17 Kal. Augusti) chartam excommunicationis super principale altare posuerunt." *Brev. Com.*, n. 3. This was on July 16, and not 15, as Bréhier has it. The *Commemoratio* correctly assigns July 16 to a Saturday.

² *Edictum pseudosynodi*, ap. Will, p. 161.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Because apparently he had been consecrated bishop without the observance of the interstices.

legates declared excommunicated, Michael, Leo of Achrida and all their adherents.¹

After shaking off the dust from their feet as a testimony against them (St. Matt. x. 14), sending copies of the excommunication in all directions, and reopening the Latin churches in the city by the aid of the emperor, the legates hurriedly set out for Rome loaded with presents (July 18).² Scarcely had they departed when Cerularius feigned a great anxiety to have a conference with them, and brought such pressure to bear on the emperor that he found himself compelled to recall them³ (July 20). On their return, the patriarch invited them to attend a synod he had summoned in the Church of S. Sophia. But the emperor had discovered that it was his intent to incite the people against the legates, and to cause them to be killed. He accordingly insisted on being present himself, and, as Cerularius would not agree to this, he bade the legates once more depart.⁴

Departure,
return, and
final de-
parture of
the legates.

Baulked of his prey, the patriarch raised a sedition against the emperor, who succeeded in saving himself only by sacrificing to his anger the unfortunate men who had served as interpreters to the legates.⁵ Then, in concert with his *permanent synod*, i.e., "with the bishops who daily sit with us," and a few metropolitans who chanced to be

¹ Ap. Will, p. 153-154. A shorter form of excommunication which was pronounced before the emperor ran: "Quicumque fidei S. R. et Ap. sedis ejusque sacrificio pertinaciter contradixerit, sit anathema, Maranatha." *Ib.* Michael had these two deeds translated into Greek, and, as the more important one "had been seen by many," he caused the work to be done faithfully. See them in the *Edictum pseudo., l.c.*

² *Brev. Commem.*, n. 3. Cf. *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 88, 89.

³ *Brev. Com., l.c.* "Nimia instantia precum Michaelis spondentis . . . se conflicturum cum eis imperator compulsus, etc." Cf. the *Edictum*, p. 165.

⁴ *Ib.* In the *edictum* of his synod, Cerularius pretends that it was the legates themselves who refused to come.

⁵ *Ib.*

in the city, Cerularius, in turn, anathematised the authors of the bull of excommunication against himself.¹

Cerularius
attempts to
win Peter
of Antioch
to his side.

This done, he set deliberately to work to turn the minds of the other Eastern patriarchs against Rome. To accomplish his purpose he did not hesitate to lie in the most barefaced manner, and this he was the better able to do successfully because some of his correspondents were wholly ignorant of Latin; and because, utterly unable to find anyone in their *entourage* who could supply the deficiency, they were compelled to send their Latin letters to him to have them translated.² Soon after Leo's death,³ Cerularius had written to Peter of Antioch an epistle in which he pretended that letters he had written to the holy and learned⁴ Pope (Leo) "on certain scandals (σκάνδαλα) concerning the orthodox faith which had arisen among them (the Latins)" had fallen into the hands of Argyrus, "magister and duke of Italy," and had been read by him. He had then, continued the inventive patriarch, forged others in the Pope's name, which he had sent to Constantinople by three disreputable persons. These forgeries, translated into Greek, are being forwarded to Antioch. He concluded by impressing on Peter that they *must turn away*⁵ *from the Latins*, not only on account of the question of the azymys, but because they shave their beards, eat what has been strangled, have added the *Filioque* to the Creed, forbid their priests to marry, do not venerate (προσκυνεῖν) relics, etc. etc.

¹ *Edictum synod.*, sub fin.

² Peter of Antioch was in that condition. He could not read the letter Pope Leo had sent to him, and, moreover: "οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθημεν τινὰ εὐρεῖν δυνάμενον πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταύτην (viz. the letter he had received from Leo, and which he was forwarding to Cerularius 'ἀσφαλῶς διερμηνεῦσαι') μεταμεῖψαι φωνήν." Ep. ad. Cerul., n. 24, ap. Will, p. 204.

³ Ep. I, ad Petrum, n. 3.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Ib.*, n. II.

Men who do such things are not to be accounted orthodox.¹

After his excommunication, Michael wrote Peter a second letter, telling him that heterodox impostors had dared to excommunicate him, and that he had written to him in order that he might know how to treat with Rome, should occasion arise. He begged him, in conclusion, to forward to their proper destination the letters he had enclosed. They were of precisely the same import as the one addressed to him, and were inscribed to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem.²

The reply which Michael received to these letters was certainly not of the nature he expected. Whatever else it was, it was the manifest expression of one who was inspired by a horror of schism, and of breaking away from "the great and first apostolic throne" (Rome).³ If it had been thought out before it was committed to writing, it would have to be regarded as the production of one who, while most anxious to preserve peace and unity, was, at the same time, a finished diplomatist. But in all probability it is a faithful record of the evolution of Peter's feelings. He is astounded at the presumption of Argyrus. Of the Latin customs some are bad, some curable, and others negligible (*παροράσεως ἄξια*). If, for example, the Latin bishops wear rings⁴ "to show, as you write, that they are wedded

Peter's
answer.

¹ What Michael found worse than all this (*τὸ δὲ πάντων βεβύτερον*) was the fact that the legates said they had come not to be taught, but to teach: "*λέγουσι γὰρ, ὅτι οὐ διδαχθησόμενοι, ἢ διαλεχθησόμενοι . . . ἀλλὰ διδάξοντες μάλλον*," etc. N. 15. Cf. ep. 2, n. 3.

² Ap. Will, p. 184 ff. He also asked Peter to write to the other two patriarchs, so that, if approached by Rome, they would be ready with proper answers: "*ἀρμόζουσιν . . . καὶ λεγομένην, ὡς δεδήλωται, . . . τὴν ἀπόκρισιν*." N. 7.

³ Ep. Petri, n. 21, ap. Will, p. 202.

⁴ One of the *accusations* raised by Michael against the Latin Church.

to the Holy Church of God, we wear the garara¹ (tonsure) on our head in honour of the supreme chief of the apostles, Peter, on whom is built the great Church of God.”² The introduction of the *Filioque* into the Creed is certainly “an evil and the worst of evils.” Still, where there is no danger to the faith,³ we must ever incline towards peace and brotherly love, the more so because the Latins are rude and ignorant. Moreover, while it has always been a received maxim that old customs have to be followed, no doubt, just as often happens among ourselves, many things which are improper are done without the knowledge of the Pope and the bishops. After all, the only matters of importance are the questions of the *Filioque* and of the celibacy of the clergy. Michael must explain matters to the new Pope. “Therefore I beg, pray, and beseech you, and, in spirit embracing your sacred feet, exhort you to be accommodating. For there is a danger lest, whilst one tries to close a rent, it may be made worse. . . . From this long separation and dissension, and from the rending of this great first apostolic throne (Rome) from our Holy Church, is there not manifest danger that every evil on the earth will grow worse, that the whole world will grow sick, every kingdom in it become disorganised, that everywhere there will be lamentation and unnumbered woes, everywhere famines and pestilences, and that success will never again attend our armies.”⁴

¹ γαράραν, supposed to be a word of Syriac origin denoting the clerical tonsure.

² “εἰς τιμὴν πάντως τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὲ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία ἐπικοδόμηται.” *Ib.*, n. 4, ap. Will, 193.

³ “ἔνθα μὴ θεὸς ἢ πῖστις τὸ κινδυνεύμενον.” *Ib.*, n. 14.

⁴ “σκόπησον δὲ, εἰ μὴ φανερώς ἐντεῦθεν ἡγουν ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς ταύτης διαστάσεως καὶ διχονοίας καὶ τοῦ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον καὶ ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον ἀπορραγῆναι, συνέβη πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ βίῳ κακίαν πληθυνθῆναι, etc. N. 21. Like Pope Leo (*cf. supra*, p. 148), Peter proved a prophet. This passage was penned about the year 1054. In less than thirty years

With his mind now swept clear by the flood of his own eloquence, Peter finally declared that "if the Latins would set right the addition to the Creed,"¹ he would seek for no further concession from them. He begged Michael to take the same view, lest "in seeking all they might lose all," and, as a very last word, entreated him "to approach the subject with greater moderation and condescension." This was also the attitude of another Eastern prelate, contemporary with Peter, the learned Theophylactus,² archbishop of Achrida. In a pamphlet addressed to one of his friends regarding the accusations brought against the Latins, he begins by denying that their errors are numerous, and asserts that what are urged against them do not, as many aver, tend to divide the Church, because not one of them concerns "the head of the faith." He says that their chief error is the insertion of the *Filioque* into the Creed, which ought not to be adulterated, and that for his part he will not allow that the Holy Ghost *proceeds* from the Father and the Son, even if there are adduced to him the words of "that sublime throne

after this, the power of the Byzantine Empire was definitely shaken by the battle of Manzikert (1071), where Alp-Arslan with his Seljukian Turks defeated and captured the Emperor Romanus Diogenes. The very same year, by the loss of Bari to the Normans, the Eastern Empire lost all hold of south Italy. Cf. *Byzantine Hist. in the Middle Ages*, a lecture by F. Harrison, p. 10 (London, 1900): "The Crusaders' raid in 1204 utterly ruined Constantinople, and from that time till the capture of the Turks it was a feeble wreck. Even at the date of the first Crusade (1096), the empire had been broken by the campaign of Manzikert."

¹ "εἰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ προσθήκην διορθώσαιντο, οὐδὲν ἂν ἕτερον ἐπεζητούν." Ep. Petri, n. 22.

² With regard to his period we only know for certain that he was an old man in the year 1071. He seems to have died c. 1107. His works have been published ap. *P. G. L.*, tt. 123-126, or *P. G.* (Latin only), tt. 63, 64. The *Allocutio* from which we have quoted is found in t. 64.

(Rome) whom the sublime thrones place above the others." ¹

The schism of the East and West is consummated.

But the flood-gates of racial hatred had been opened; and neither the wisdom of the learned nor the wishes of the moderate could stem the torrent. Cerularius was to triumph. Though his excommunication was never confirmed at Rome, he flourished it before the people as a clear proof of its oppressive treatment of the Greek Church, and managed to fix deep in the minds of the Easterns a suspicion of the Papacy which subsequent events, such as the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders (1204), were to turn to bitter hatred. At the time, indeed, neither Greeks nor Latins regarded the events of 1054 as inaugurating a final schism between East and West. They may be said to have been ignored by Greek writers, and were looked upon by Latin writers merely as another of the temporary schisms which had so often before divided Rome from Constantinople, but which the excommunication of the patriarch had successfully closed. But every subsequent attempt at reunion served to prove to sad demonstration that the die had been irrevocably cast, and that it was the hand of Michael Cerularius which had finally thrown it.

Rome and various sections of the Church in the East.

Ignorance or jealousy of Rome, the power of the patriarch of Constantinople, community of civil and religious customs or of language, were the principal causes which induced most of the great ecclesiastical rulers of the East one after another so far to range themselves with Constantinople as to throw off all allegiance to Rome. Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Achrida followed first the lead of the City by the Golden Horn, and then its

¹ Veccus, whom we have already cited, assures us that in all his other writings Theophylactus tolerated the insertion, which he says he would not have done had he supposed that it was injurious to the faith. Ap. L. Allatius, *Græcia orthodox.*, i. 215.

example. It was not to be expected that, having refused to bend the knee to the successor of St. Peter, whom they had ever acknowledged as the head of the Church, they would long pay court to one who, like themselves, was but an inferior member of the Church Catholic, and was, indeed, originally a much less important member than most of them. Severed from their head, they soon severed themselves from Constantinople, and from one another.

But what was the attitude of the archbishop of Kiev ^{Russia} and of the Russians in this unhappy affair? In the dearth of documentary evidence regarding the early Russian Church, it is very difficult to say. Some writers hold that the Russians remained in communion with the See of Rome till the fifteenth or sixteenth¹ century, with the exception of a few brief intervals of intervening schism. They point out that though Russia was converted by Greeks, their conversion took place whilst the Greeks and the Latins were united; that their liturgy (Slavonic) was the work of SS. Cyril and Methodius, who were devoted sons of Rome, and that the numerous marriages which took place in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries between Russian and Western princes and princesses is a practical proof that Kiev (called by Adam of Bremen "the rival of Constantinople and the great glory of Greece") and Rome were still in ecclesiastical communion.² During the reign of Demetrius or Isiaslaf, the son of Iaroslaf the Great³ (†1054), his son (Sviatopolk) made his appearance in the Eternal City. Isiaslaf had experienced in his own person the difficulty of succeeding to the throne merely because

¹ Till the reign of the first Czar, John IV. (Ivan IV. the Terrible), 1533-1584, who brought about the final separation.

² Cf. *Vicissitudes de l'église cath. en Pologne et en Russie* (Paris, 1843), pp. 12 and 13, for examples of these marriages.

³ Independently of Constantinople, he had placed the first native Russian, one Hilarion, on the See of Kiev.

he happened to be the eldest son ; and so, to facilitate the accession of his own eldest son, he sent him to Rome to receive his kingdom at the hands of Gregory VII.¹ It is impossible to suppose he would have followed such a course as this if his people had not viewed Rome with friendly eyes. "One of the most convincing proofs of this union between Russia and the Holy See is the establishment by Ephrem, the metropolitan of Kiev (†c. 1102), of the feast of the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas of Bari. This feast was established in Russia in conformity with a bull of Urban II. As this feast is not observed in the Greek Church of Constantinople, its papal origin in Russia is obvious."² The real founder of the Russian schism seems to have been the second successor of Ephrem, viz. Nicephorus I., who addressed to Prince Vladimir II., Monomachus, a work on the "Separation of the Two Churches," in which he aimed at showing the faults of the Latins, and at exalting the Church of Constantinople.³

However, despite the evil work of Nicephorus, the final separation of the Church of the Russians from that of Rome was not immediately effected. As late as 1227 we find the Grand Dukes of Russia declaring that they had fallen away from Rome merely "from a want of preachers,"⁴ and in the course of that century it is certain that various Russian princes embraced the Latin rite.⁵ The bishopric of Caffa

¹ Gregory (ep. ii. 74, an. 1075, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.*, p. 198) complied with the request of Sviatopolk, as he assured Demetrius: "illam suam petitionem vestro consensu ratam fore . . . si apostolicæ auctoritatis gratia . . . donaretur." Cf. Rambaud, *Hist. de la Russie*, p. 81 f., and *Vicissitudes*, p. 15.

² Cf. Romanet du Caillaud, *Essai sur l'église Russe catholique*, p. 85, citing Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom.*, i. 172 ff.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Ep. Honorii III., ap. Potthast, n. 7652. Cf. ep. Greg. IX., *ib.*, 8765.

⁵ *Ib.*, 12,094 ff., 12,668 ff., 12,686 ff., 12,814 ff., etc.

(formerly Theodosia, now Feodosia), established by John XXII. in the Crimea, proved a great centre of Latin influence, and during both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many of the metropolitans of Kiev were in union with the See of Rome.¹ But in the beginning of the following century they definitely separated themselves from it,² and left Russia in the state of schism we find it in to-day.

However, there are not wanting writers who maintain that in the eleventh century the Russian Church was simply a submissive province of the patriarchate of Constantinople; and who, without perhaps attaching due weight to the facts above rehearsed and to other similar ones, hold that, after the defection of Cerularius, a state of schism was the rule with the Russian Church, union the exception.³

Though Cerularius failed to draw the Armenians,⁴ at any rate, into his schism, he accomplished enough to bring about the ruin of the Greek Empire and the Greek Church. The former, deprived through the schism of the help of the West, nay, even in one instance seriously injured in consequence by it, disappeared for ever in the middle of the fifteenth century;⁵ and the latter, enslaved first

¹ *Viciss.*, p. 28 ff.

² *Ib.*, p. 38. In the second half of the fourteenth century metropolitan power was transferred from Kiev to Moscow, but not long after was divided between the two sees.

³ See especially Bréhier, p. 222 ff.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 242. With this impartial historian compare the Anglican S. C. Malan, *The Life of S. Gregory, the Illuminator*, p. 44 n.

⁵ The schism, "more than all other causes combined, has delivered the fairest regions of the East, once the most favoured seats of the Church, to that bastard faith of Islâm, which now stands—where it ought not, even there where, except for the sins and provocations of Christians, it never would have stood." *Lectures on Medieval Church History*, p. 382, by Archbishop Trench, 2nd ed., London, 1879.

by the Greek emperors, and then by the Turkish Sultans, has survived indeed to the present day. But its once living waters have ceased to flow, and have become corrupt, and now it doth "cream and mantle like a standing pond"—a thing of loathing to those who gaze upon it.¹

St.
Edward
the Con-
fessor.

Before telling of the last moments of Pope Leo, something must be said of his relations with England. Whilst at this period the whole Church was being ruled and edified by a saint, our own country had the good fortune to be similarly blessed. Its sceptre was held by one under whose wholesome laws it was the one ardent wish of many a generation who came after him to live. When Edward was brought from his exile in Normandy to the throne of England, it may be said without any exaggeration that all power in the country was in the hands of a few earls, notably in those of Earl Godwin of Wessex and of his two sons, Harold and Sweyn. During his long residence in Normandy, the new king had of course made many friends there; and it was only natural that he should bring some of them with him, and should advance their interests. No doubt, too, in placing not a few of them in important posts, he would have in view the formation of a party round him which he could oppose to the too powerful influence of the earls. Besides, where there was question of church preferment, it seems to be generally admitted that "the ecclesiastics of Normandy were, as a class, superior to those of England in Edward's time."² Unfortunately, however, for he was a man of greater simplicity

¹ The present position of the Russian Church is only less degraded in its servitude to the State because its absolute master is a Christian and not a Moslem. Cf. *Les églises orient. dissidentes et l'église Rom.*, p. 316 ff., by Tilloy, Paris, 1889; and Pitzipios, *L'église orientale*, i. p. 48 ff., iii. 81 ff.

² Hunt, *A History of the English Church* (597-1066), p. 400.

than discernment,¹ all his nominations of Normans to positions of trust were not good.

Among these was his appointment to the great diocese ^{Ulf.} of Dorchester, which stretched from the Thames to the Humber, of one of his Norman chaplains, named Ulf. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* adds that he "ill-bestowed it,"² and that the new bishop "was afterwards driven away because he performed nothing bishoplike therein, so that it shames us now to tell more."³ This expulsion took place in 1050, and Ulf at once set out for Italy to lay his case before the Pope. Other English bishops, Hereman of Sherborne and Aldred (or Ealdred) of Worcester, had preceded him thither, and had presented themselves at the council of Rome in 1050 "on the king's errand."⁴

From later authors, the substantial accuracy of whose <sup>Commuta-
tion of
Edward's
vow.</sup> statements in this particular there is no reason to doubt, it appears that the errand on which they were sent was to obtain from the Pope for their sovereign a dispensation from a vow he had made when young to go on a pilgrimage to Rome. When Edward proclaimed his vow to the Witan, and, reminding them of the words of the Psalmist, "Vow ye, and pay to the Lord your God" (lxxv. 12), expressed his intention of fulfilling it, the assembly with

¹ Of the *Lives* of Edward, the most important is that by an anonymous Saxon monk who wrote *c.* 1066. His work is not so valuable as it might be, for, though a contemporary, he was a dependant of Edward's Queen Edith, who was Harold's sister. Hence his praise of the family of Godwin must be regarded with some suspicion. It is printed among *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, Rolls Series. It was used by Osbern or Osbert of Clare (in Suffolk), prior of Westminster, who wrote (*c.* 1136) a life which is as yet unpublished. He was in turn followed by Ælred, abbot of Rievaulx (†1166), whose well-known life is published ap. the *Decem. SS.* of Twysden, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 195. The thirteenth century and latter *Lives* in old French verse, edited by Luard in the Rolls Series, are based upon Ælred.

² Ad. an. 1046,

³ *Ib.*, 1050.

⁴ *Ib.*, 1049.

one voice declared that the time was not ripe for such an undertaking, and bade him send to Rome, and obtain from the Pope a commutation of his vow. This his envoys were successful in obtaining from Leo. The bull which the Pope forwarded to the king, and which contained the conditions of the dispensation, had received the approval of his council:—

“The witness to it was sure and full :
Then a guarantee was put to the writing,
Where the bulla hangs by the silk.

And then, by the advice of the legists,
There was a counter-writing in the great register.”¹

The bull set forth that, as it was clear that there was danger to the country from the departure of the king, he was absolved from his vow “by the authority of God, of the holy apostles, and of the holy synod.” The money he had set apart for the journey was to be given to the poor, and to the erection or reconstruction and endowment of a monastery in honour of St. Peter, which was to be subject to no other layman but the king.² In consequence of this decision Edward remained in England, repaired and endowed a monastery in honour of St. Peter, which had been built long before outside the walls of London on the

¹ “Puis al escrit fu fait guarant,
U la bulle de soie peut,” etc.

From *La estoire de Seint Edward le Rei*, lines 1641 ff. This interesting passage gives us an insight into the ways of the papal chancellery, at least when this poem was written (c. 1245), and helps Delisle's assertion as to the difference in their contents between bulls with silken and with hempen (*chauvre*) attachments. “En comparant un grand nombre de lettres pontificales du treizième siècle, j'ai été conduit à reconnaître que les attaches de soie se mettaient aux lettres qui se délivraient aux parties intéressées pour constater leurs droits, andis que les attaches de chauvre étaient réservées pour les mandements.” *Mem. sur les actes d'Innocent III.*, p. 20, Paris, 1857.

² Ep. 57. Jaffé assigns it to 1057.

west,¹ and obtained for it extensive privileges from Pope Nicholas II.²

Bishop Ulf's case did not come off until September, at the synod which the Pope held at Vercelli. Examination only revealed how utterly unfit he was for his position, but, because he knew that the Romans coveted, "as a leech does blood, the red gold and the white silver,"³ he saved himself from degradation by gold. "For well-nigh would they have broken his staff if he had not given very great gifts."⁴ As it was, he returned to England again to rule Dorchester for a brief time longer.

The intercourse between Pope Leo and King Edward on ecclesiastical matters was very considerable, and was no doubt facilitated by the esteem which each of them felt for the other. English bishops were sent to assist at Leo's councils to keep the Catholics in England in closer touch with those abroad,⁵ and a papal legate was sent to our country to make the mind of the Pope more clearly known to the king.⁶

As the Anglo-Saxons drove the Britons further West, they caused the ancient British ecclesiastical organisation to be replaced by a new one. And so in 909 Archbishop Plegmund founded a see embracing Devonshire and part of Cornwall, and established its seat at Crediton.⁷ This he

¹ The spot was known as Thorney. Cf. Edward's *Life* by the anonymous monk, p. 417, who notes that it was situated on the banks of the Thames, "a toto orbe ferentis universarum venalium rerum copiosas merces subjectæ civitati."

² Jaffé, 4462 (3371).

³ *Estoire*, lines 1523 f.

⁴ *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1047. Of this treasure "we may be sure that none found its way into the private coffers of Leo." Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. 118.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 58.

⁶ Ep. 33. "Cum vero ad vos nostrum miserimus legatum."

⁷ Cf. an entry in the missal which Leofric (†1071), bishop of Crediton, gave to Exeter, and which is now in the Bodleian library (MSS. 579). Entries were made in the missal during the years 1050-1072. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 676.

did with the special intent of enforcing the usages of Rome among the Britons.¹ Some fifty years later (viz. in 1046), St. Edward appointed his chaplain, Leofric, to the See of Crediton. Finding that his diocese was much harried by pirates, Leofric determined to try to effect the removal of his episcopal see from the unimportant Crediton in the north of Devon to the larger and hence safer city of Exeter in the south. "And because," to quote a more or less contemporary entry in a missal he presented to his cathedral of Exeter, "he was a man of sound understanding, he knew that this could not be done without the authority of the Roman Church." Accordingly, he sent to request Pope Leo to ask King Edward that he might be allowed to make the proposed change. As it was in accordance with the general law of the Church that episcopal sees should be established in the larger towns, the Pope at once agreed to Leofric's petition, and addressed (1049-1050) a letter² to the king in which he praised him for the good account he had received of his piety, and exhorted him to persevere in the course he had entered upon. Then, after telling him that he had been informed that Leofric's see was not in a city, he begged him "for the sake of God and for his love" to transfer it to Exeter.

"With great devotion Edward gave his consent in accordance with the terms of this letter,"³ and the charter is still extant in which he authorised the translation of the see, and "made known what he had done in the first instance to the Lord Pope Leo,⁴ and confirmed it by his authority."

"Nam antea in quantum potuerunt, veritati resistebant (the Cornish men), et non decretis Apostolicis obœdiebant." Haddan, *ib.*

² Ep. 33, ap. Haddan, *ib.*

³ The missal, *ib.*, p. 692.

⁴ "Hoc tamen notum Papæ domino imprimis Leoni facio, ipsius attestatione confirmo." *ib.*, p. 694.

If King Edward's appointment of Ulf to Dorchester brought him discredit, two of his other nominations brought him trouble. Towards the close of this same year (October 29, 1050) died Eadsige (or Eadsy), archbishop of Canterbury. Setting aside the candidate of the monks, though they had secured in his interest the support of Earl Godwin (1051), the king nominated to the vacant see Robert of Jumièges, then bishop of London.¹ Edward had known him in Normandy, and had brought him over to England as one of his chaplains. The new archbishop's first act was to signify his subjection to the Pope by going to Rome for his pallium.² During his absence the king nominated Spearhafoc (Sparrow-hawk), abbot of Abingdon, to the vacant bishopric of London. It would appear that there was something irregular about his promotion.³ To judge from his subsequent conduct in running away (perhaps in the beginning of 1053) with the gold and jewels

Edward's
nomination
of Spear-
hafoc and
Robert.

¹ Edward's *Anon. biog.*, p. 399. Very naturally to the annoyance of the monks: "totius ecclesiæ filiis hanc injuriam pro nisu suo reclamantibus." *Ib.*, p. 400.

² *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1048.

³ Freeman (*l.c.*, p. 120) has made a very unhappy suggestion in connection with this appointment. "The account of his promotion to London I do not fully understand: 'Spearhavoc autem a rege civitati Lundonensi (civitatis Lundonensis?) eodem prædictæ pactionis anno, in episcopatum promotus, dum auri gemmarumque electarum pro corona *imperiali* cudenda, regis ejusdem assignatione receptam haberet copiam' (*Hist. Monast. de Abingdon*, i. 463). Was St. Eadward's favour purchased by the materials of an earthly crown?" This query is not warranted by the text quoted, and still less by its context. The passage in question states that Spearhafoc was promoted by the king to the bishopric of London in the year of the aforesaid peace, and at a time when, as a goldsmith, he had in his possession a quantity of gold and gems *which the king had given him* to make him a crown of the imperial pattern. The context goes on to state that, appropriating the said jewellery, and also money from the episcopal treasury, he absconded. "*Hinc et ex episcopii pecunia marsupiorum farsisset plurimum receptacula, clanculo Anglia secedens ultra non apparuit.*" Obviously all the giving was on Edward's side.

which the king had given him to make a crown—"for he was a most skilled worker in gold"—and with moneys belonging to the diocese of London, he was, no doubt, generally unfit to possess a bishopric. At any rate, when, on his return from Rome, he presented himself, "with the king's writ and seal," to the archbishop for consecration, the latter "refused and said that the Pope had forbidden it."¹ Spearhafoc persisted in repeating his request, and the archbishop his refusal, all during the summer and the autumn. Then at length the abbot gave way, and William, a Norman, one of the king's chaplains, was appointed to the vacant see.²

Flight of
Robert and
appeal to
the Pope,
1052.

In the party struggle between Godwin and the archbishop, who is credited by the panegyrist of the former's family³ with endeavouring of set purpose "to annoy the duke," Godwin was at last victorious. Ulf, Robert, and others of the king's Norman friends fled across the seas.⁴ The archbishop at once betook himself to Rome; and, after laying his case before Leo, obtained from him a decree for his restoration to his see.⁵ But "as he was returning through Jumièges, he died there, and was buried in the Church of St. Mary, which for the most part he himself had built at vast expense."⁶ His enemy Godwin had died before him, and our old chronicler evidently had grave doubts of his salvation, for "he did all too little penance for the property of God which he held belonging to many holy places."⁷

Uncanon-
ical ap-
pointment
of Stigand.

It is more than likely that, even had Robert not died as early as he did (1053?), he would not have been allowed to

¹ *A.-Sax. Chron.*, an. 1048.

² *Ib.*, 1051; Florence of Worcester, 1051.

³ Viz., by Edward's Saxon biographer, p. 400.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 406; *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1052.

⁵ William of Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, ii. 13, and *De gest. pont.*, l. i.

⁶ *De gest. reg.*, *ib.*

⁷ *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1052.

return to his see under any circumstances, as long as the party of Earl Godwin and his sons was in power. For, soon after his flight, at a great council (*gemôt*) near London, he had been "without reserve declared an outlaw, and all the Frenchmen, because they had chiefly made the discord between Earl Godwin and the king. And Bishop Stigand succeeded (*feng*) to the archbishopric of Canterbury."¹ Physical force can cause a man to be called an archbishop or anything else, and it can put him in possession of property; but it cannot give him that power which the Church alone has a right to bestow upon its own officers. Stigand, a man utterly unfit for such a position, both from his illiteracy and from his ignoble character, was proclaimed archbishop of Canterbury, and endowed with its revenues by the political party to which he belonged, and of which he was a very prominent member. But not a bishop in England would recognise² him, or get consecrated

¹ *A.-Sax. Chron.*, in what is supposed to be the Peterborough edition. On the "succession" of Stigand, Freeman makes certain reflections which have again no basis in the records of the times of which he is treating. He says (*loc.*, p. 345): "At the moment of Godwine's restoration, it most likely did not occur to any Englishman to doubt that those bishoprics were vacant both in fact and in law. . . . Our forefathers seem to have thought very little about canonical *subtleties* (?), etc." By the *gemôt* of September 1052 he was declared archbishop. The next year the *A.-Sax. Chron.* (Cottonian MS., B. 1, which here agrees with the MSS. known as D. E. and F. Cf. Rolls ed., i. p. xvii.) makes the emphatic declaration that "this year there was *no* archbishop in this land, but *Bishop* Stigand held the bishopric of Canterbury—'naes na arcebisceop on thissan lande butan Stigand b. heold the bisceoprice,' etc." It goes on to state that because there was no archbishop, two men "went over sea, and there caused themselves to be ordained bishops." But Freeman has said enough himself (see p. 347—"even Englishmen, and patriotic Englishmen, seem to have been uneasy as to his ecclesiastical position") to show how utterly groundless is his assertion which is here being criticised.

² Again Freeman's mere suspicions ("I suspect," etc., p. 655) are enough to lead him to leave the path of true historical methods, and to prefer to a man's own words the statement of another.

by him, or profess canonical obedience to him, and he was promptly excommunicated by Pope Leo.¹ His subsequent history and his final downfall must be reserved for another place. It has been suggested that "Stigand's schism was probably the determining cause of the help that Rome gave" to William in his invasion of England;² and certain it is that the Conqueror put forth the expulsion of Archbishop Robert as one of the reasons which led him to take up arms against this country.³

Macbeth in
Rome,
1050.

Contemporary with Leo and Edward was Macbeth, a character more famous on the stage of the theatre than on the larger one of the world. He succeeded to the crown of Scotland after having, at least, been a party to the murder of his predecessor Duncan (1040), and ruled the country well (1040-1058). With a view, no doubt, to make atonement for his sins, we have it on the authority of a monk (Muiredach mac Robertaigh, generally known as Marianus Scotus),⁴ who was alive at the time, was a Celt himself, and took special note of the doings of the Scotch and Irish, that this king made the Roman pilgrimage, or at any rate "gave money to the poor in Rome."⁵ In this

¹ Cf. a document published for the first time by Freeman, *l.c.*; Jaffé, 4331.

² Hunt, *A Hist. of the English Ch.*, p. 406.

³ Henry of Huntingdon, an. 1065.

⁴ See Dr. D. Hyde, *Literary Hist. of Ireland*, p. 449. He lived partly at Fulda and partly in Mainz (†c. 1083).

⁵ "Rex Scottiæ Macbethad Romæ argentum pauperibus seminando distribuit," an. 1050, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v., or *P. L.*, t. 147. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. 56 (whose judgment, it may be noticed by the way, seems to be warped by a patriotism pushed to extravagant lengths, and made, as though it were as great a virtue as charity, to cover at any time a multitude of sins) prefers to believe that the money was spent in *inducing* by its means the Roman Court, not indeed Leo himself, to favour him against England. "It is possible that he may have thought it desirable to get the Roman Court on his side, and he may have found that a liberal distribution of money," etc. On p. 118 he alludes to the "mysterious bestowal of alms or bribes" made by

Macbeth only did what we have already seen done by many other princes, and what is done to this day by every Catholic pilgrim who visits the Eternal City; and it is a mere idle flight of an unbridled imagination to convert, as some have done, his pilgrimage into a diplomatic mission, and his alms into bribes.

St. Peter Damian tells us¹ a curious story which may have its foundation in the visit of Macbeth to Rome, or, possibly, may be the history of some Irish prince otherwise unknown. The saint says he was told the story by an old man, Bonizo, the rector of the monastery near St. Severus, "juxta urbem veterem." This is no doubt the church and monastery of St. Severinus on the Via Merulana, not far from the Church of St. Matthew,² and said by St. Gregory the Great to be "juxta domum Merulanam regione III."³ As the Via Merulana cuts the line of the old wall of Servius Tullius, St. Peter Damian describes the monastery on the said via as "near the old city."

A young Scotch prince (or Irish?—*Scotigenarum rex*), on succeeding to his father's throne, and reflecting on the vanity of this world, left his crown and wife. On the pretext of a pilgrimage, he went to Rome, and when there contrived to evade his followers, hid himself in a monastery, and became a monk. Soon after he was taken ill and

Macbeth; and lastly, on p. 370, all doubt has gone, and, "We *have* also seen that he *had* been striving, in a remarkable way, to make himself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness in the quarter where that mammon," etc. The italics are ours. This is an admirable example of the method by which the dross of their baseless imaginings is by some historians transmuted into the gold of facts. Mr. Round (*Feudal England*, London, 1909) finds reason to combat Mr. Freeman's supposed "pre-eminent accuracy and authority on matters of fact." Pref., p. x. He had previously made the same observation in his *Geoffrey de Mandeville*. I can only endorse his conclusions in this matter.

¹ *Opusc.* 10, c. 6, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 219.

² Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 247.

³ *Epp.* iii. 19.

died, constantly begging of God on his death-bed to "fulfil what He had promised." He was asking, concludes the saint, for his reward for his work in the vineyard.

The last
illness of
Leo.

After the battle of Civitella, Leo returned, as we have seen, to Benevento. Thence he directed the controversy with Michael Cerularius, and there was he seized with his last illness. Grief for the slaughter of Civitella never left him; he redoubled the fervour with which he said Mass for the repose of the slain.¹ This it was that preyed upon his mind far more than the indifference of Henry to his troubles, or than the quarrel with the Greeks—the gravity of which no man then realised. As the year 1053 drew to its close, the powers of his body so far gave way that all desire for food left him, and a little water was all he could take. On the anniversary of his enthronisation (February 12, 1054) he managed to muster sufficient strength to say Mass. Never again was he to have that privilege. Feeling that his end was nigh, he had himself conveyed to Rome in a litter (March 12). As far as Capua, where he remained twelve days, he was escorted not only by his own followers, but by a company of Normans who came at his call.²

April had just begun when he entered the Lateran Palace. There, however, he stayed not long, as he had learnt from God that he should die by St. Peter's. Accordingly he caused himself to be carried first to the oratory of the saint, and then to the Vatican Palace hard by. There, in the presence of a number of bishops, abbots, and faithful people who had crowded to see him, did he receive

¹ "Pro defunctorum requie incorruptorum sacramentorum celebrationi solito frequentius invigilabat." Wibert, ii. 14. Cf. *Ann. Roman.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 333.

² With Wibert (*l.c.*) compare *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 84, and Aimé, iii. 30.

Extreme Unction.¹ When the Holy Viaticum had been given him, he prayed "in his native German" that, if it was not God's will that he should recover, he might be released with all speed from the dwelling-house of his body.

Whilst lying on his bed of death, he is said by Bonizo to have entrusted the care of the Roman Church after his death to Hildebrand.² But at this time Hildebrand was in Gaul, and it is, perhaps, scarcely credible that in the then critical condition of affairs in Rome, the Pope would have entrusted the government of the Church to an absentee. The statement, however, may be enough to show that Leo did not overlook the practical side of his duty even till his last hour. But he spent most of the days of his last agony in prayer.³ At times he would be carried into the church, and there, lying beside his marble coffin, he would point out to those around him how his own case ought to show them the vanity of the world, and induce them not to tamper with the goods of the Church, nor break the laws of God. He prayed for the Church and those who had shed their blood at Civitella; for heretics and Jews, and for every province he had visited.⁴ Then, rising from his couch, and throwing himself on his sarcophagus, he signed it with the sign of the cross, and prayed that on the day of retribution it might present him before the throne of resurrection, "For I believe that my Redeemer liveth."

¹ Wibert, *l.c.* "Eis præsentibus inungeretur sacri olei liquore." Beno's lively imagination makes him one of the six Popes poisoned by Gerhard Brazutus at the instigation of Hildebrand. *Gest. Rom. Ecc.*, ii. 9, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii.

² Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v. It is, of course, possible, if not probable, that Leo may have arranged for Hildebrand's prompt recall from Gaul.

³ From April 17 to 19. The story of Leo's death is told at length by Libuin, one of the eye-witnesses of his last hours.

⁴ Libuin. He also says (n. 5) that he prayed for the conversion of Theophylact (Benedict IX.) and his two brothers.

His death. At length, on Wednesday, April 19, lying on his couch before the altar of St. Peter, soon after he had received "the Body and Blood of Christ" from a bishop who was saying Mass, he gave back his sweet soul to its Creator at the very hour he had himself predicted.¹

"At the very hour that he commended his soul to Christ, the bell of St. Peter's began to toll of itself; and a citizen of Todi, named Albert, with five others, declared that they saw, as it were, the road all bedecked with resplendent coverings and gleaming with gems, by which he was led by angels up to heaven. Moreover, so great was the calm at the moment of his death, that not a leaf moved ever so little."²

Many are the miracles cited by our authorities which he wrought both in life and in death, but for which, "for the sake of (here) sparing the busy or the incredulous,"³ reference must be made to the said authorities.

His tomb. In the marble sarcophagus which he had himself prepared for them were laid to rest the mortal remains of Leo IX. Then, with the concurrence of all the Roman people, it was placed within the basilica of St. Peter, close to the gate of Ravenna.⁴ Later on, an altar in honour of the

¹ Lib., n. 7; Wibert, *l.c.* Is there anything, even in the story of the Popes, to be compared to this glorious closing scene of the splendid pontificate of Leo IX., but that of his last namesake, Leo XIII.?

² Libuin, *sub fin.*

³ Wibert, "sed studioso est cedendum lectori vel incredulo auditori," ii. 13. And how incredulous a man would have to be to doubt of the miracles which were performed at Leo's tomb is emphatically set forth by Manegold (*Lib. ad Gerehard.*, c. 8, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i.): "Quam videlicet ejus sanctitatem plura quæ ad sacratissimum ejus sepulcrum acta sunt, plura quæ cotidie genuntur omnibus, quibus, presencia ejus subtracta est, adhuc locuntur miracula; quibus eo manifestior et indubitatio redditur, quo nulli suspitioni locus relinquitur, nullus vel infidelis secus quicquam oppinari signis clarentibus permittetur."

⁴ P. Mallius, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 276. Cf. Wibert (ii. 16), whose description of the position of the sarcophagus in St. Peter's is not so accurate as



(From a drawing.)



(Photo. of a coin in the Vatican collection.)

A Coin of St. Leo IX.

saint was erected over the sarcophagus.¹ When, in 1506, that portion of the old basilica was unfortunately destroyed in the building of the new one, the relics of the saint were placed in a fresh coffin of cypress wood. This, with an inscription recording the act of translation, was put in a sarcophagus of white marble, and the whole placed beneath the altar now dedicated to the Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi.²

In the case of Leo IX. his memory was not interred with his body. It has been kept green in the Catholic Church. Honoured as a saint in his life-time, he has been revered as such ever since. Churches were dedicated in his honour even by his contemporaries,³ and his name is enshrined in the Roman Martyrology.

“Leo is dead! Victorious Rome doth mourn.
Long will it be before his like she sees.”⁴

Among other losses brought about during Rome's Dark Age, we have to deplore that of almost all the papal money coined during three-quarters of the century preceding the accession of Leo IX. Of the money struck by him, only a single denarius seems to have escaped the great destroyer. On the obverse it shows, running round near its edge, a

His coins.

that of Mallius. Cf. especially the *procès-verbal* of the opening of his tomb (ap. Müntz, *Recherches sur l'œuvre archéol. de J. Grimaldi*, p. 250 ff.), whence it appears that Leo was very tall, as his skeleton was found to measure nine Roman palms.

¹ Hence, as praise enough of Leo, Beno asks, why speak of him “quia in æcclesia S. Petri habet suum altare”? *Panag.*, vii. 2.

² Brucker, ii. p. 380. ³ E.g., by Udalric at Benevento, *ib.*, p. 382.

⁴ “Victrix Rōmā dolet, nono viduata Leone
Ex multis talem non habitura Patrem.”

Wibert (*l.c.*) gives us these two lines as an epitaph. According to Duchesne (*L. P.*, *ib.*), Dümmler has published another in the *Neues Archiv.*, i. 175. But neither of them were engraved upon the tomb. Cf. the words of the future Victor III. (*Dialog.*, iii. p. 1008): “Illi quidem paradisus patuit sanctorum recepto consortio. Sed infelix mundus qui talem pontificem diu habere non meruit.”

cross, and the letters *Henricus Imp*, and in its centre, in three lines, *Romanoru* ; and on the reverse a cross and *Scs Petrus* round a square in which are enclosed in two lines the letters *Leo P.*¹ Another fifty years will have to roll by before we shall meet with the coins of another Pope (viz. Paschal II.).

Leo
Magnus

“ Leo the Great ” are the words with which the author of Rome’s annals² begins his account of the successor of Damasus II. And though among the Leos of Rome the title of Great is officially, as it were, reserved to St. Leo I., the anonymous writer we have just cited was guilty of no exaggeration when he called the ninth Pontiff who bore that name, Leo *the Great*. For he was great in the amount of work to which he put his hands, and still more in its importance as well to the Church as to the world at large. The moral reform which he carried so far forward was, of course, accompanied by an intellectual advance which could not be confined to the ecclesiastical body. *Great* was he also in his self-abnegation. That he might serve God more utterly, he put to one side the splendid career which was held out to him by the world, nor would he accept the most glorious position there is to be found on this earth, till he was imperatively called to it by those who had the right so to do. And throughout his whole life never do we see him hesitating between self and his duty, or between self and the benefit of others. At Monte Cassino we behold him on his knees washing the feet of the monks, and at Mainz bearing most meekly with a rude and ill-timed display of independence on the part of its archbishop.³

¹ Promis, *Monete dei R. P.*, p. 98. Cf. tav. x. ² Ap. *L. P.*, *l.c.*

³ On one occasion, Luitpold, archbishop of Mainz, was saying Mass in presence of the Pope, when one of his deacons chanted the lesson instead of reciting it. On the representation of some of his attendants that such a practice was contrary to liturgical custom, the Pope sent to order the deacon to cease chanting. The deacon, who we are assured was a young man, refused to obey. On the receipt of a second

He was great, too, in piety, "useful for all things," towards God, and in his tender love of God's Blessed Mother.¹ Hence it was that men believed that God was with him, and that he was one of those who were destined by the Almighty to display *signs and wonders*. "In my name they (viz. those that believe) shall cast out devils: they shall speak with new tongues . . . they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover."² And so we find that all who wrote of Pope Leo connect him with the working of miracles.

Nor has this been a mere posthumous greatness; he was great in the eyes of all who knew him, even to those who had complaints to make to him, ay, or of him. The clergy and the people of Nantes, in addressing to Leo a letter of remonstrance on account of a bishop he had sent them, do so as to one "who in their time had so gloriously occupied the Apostolic See."³ The abbot of Fécamp opens a letter to Leo as follows: "Mây the whole Roman world rejoice, seeing that it is adorned with so great a Pope, who, resplendent with a piety as deep as it is new, has risen glorious like the morning star to drive away the clouds of error from the face of the Church. Since those golden ages when the Roman Church possessed a Leo and a Gregory, sources of spiritual doctrine brighter than

message, accompanied by a threat, the young man, pretending to obey, read the lesson in a voice as full as when he was chanting. Despite the intercession of his archbishop, Leo degraded the impertinent deacon there and then. But the archbishop seems to have been as obstinate as his subordinate. For, after the *offertory*, he sat down on his throne and declared that neither he nor anyone else would continue the Mass unless the deacon were reinstated. To avoid causing any disedification to the people who were present, the Pope quietly gave way, so that the Holy Sacrifice might proceed without unnecessary interruption. Ekkehard of Aura, *Chron.*, an. 1053.

¹ Brucker, ii. 277-278. Cf. ep. 65.

² St. Mark xvi. 17, 18.

³ Ep. ap. Martène, *Vet. SS. nova coll.*, i. pt. ii. p. 24, ap. Delarc, p. 399.

crystal, what Pope has arisen so earnest and watchful as you, most holy of prelates, you who feed the sheep of the Lord on the life-giving pastures of the hills? To substantiate what I have advanced, who is not filled with joy and admiration at the vigilance of a Pontiff who, with a zeal unheard of in our times, would see everything for himself, and, not content with consulting at Rome in his own see the interests of one people, . . . has moreover visited the churches beyond the Alps, and has by the holding of synods and by ecclesiastical censure corrected and amended what was wrong and abnormal? Hail! Pontiff of pontiffs, hail!"¹

In fine, as "he that instructeth his son shall be praised in him,"² so Leo IX. must be called great in his spiritual children whom he trained up, and whose glory must be reflected back on their spiritual father. One after another of those whom he had summoned around him from the cloister or the court succeeded him in the Chair of Peter, and carried on triumphantly the work of the reform of the Church and the people he had so well initiated. Chief of these was the immortal Hildebrand, who is not only distinctly stated by those who knew both of them well to have been "trained" (*educatus*) by him,³ but himself proclaimed "our Lord Leo of blessed memory" to have been "our father."⁴ By all, then, who have more at heart the spiritual than the material progress of mankind; by all who can admire the victory of moral over physical force, the heroic efforts made by Gregory VII. to lift up the world's standard of virtue will be regarded as the brightest gem in the glorious halo which surrounds the name of the great Alsatian Pontiff, Bruno of Egisheim.

¹ Ep. Joan. Fiscamnensis, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143, p. 797.

² *Ecclus.*, xxx. 2.

³ Desiderius, *Dial.*, iii. p. 1006.

⁴ Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.*, ep. ii. 14.

VICTOR II.

A.D. 1055-1057.

Sources.—The catalogues and the chronicles already cited for preceding Pontiffs. In *P. L.*, t. 143, nineteen documents, nearly all *privileges*, are assigned to Victor. Many of them were “*datæ* under the hand of Hildebrand,” whose name is followed sometimes with the addition of the simple title “cardinal-sub-deacon,” and sometimes with the further addition of “holding the place of Herimann, arch-chancellor and librarian of the Holy Apostolic See.” On the leaden seals attached to Victor’s bulls was the legend :

“Tu pro me navem liquisti, suscipe clavem.”

Works.—Many of the biographies of St. Gregory VII. give a sketch of the pontificate of Victor. In this connection may be especially cited the second volume of Delarc’s *S. Grégoire VII.*, Paris, 1889.

EMPERORS (1) OF THE EAST.	KING OF ENGLAND.	KING OF FRANCE.
Theodora, 1055-1056. ¹	St. Edward the Con-	Henry I., 1031-
Michael VI. (Stratioti- cus), 1056-1057.	fessor, 1042-1066.	1061.
EMPERORS (2) OF THE WEST.		
Henry III. (The Black), 1039-1056.		
Henry IV. (only King of Germany), 1056-1106.		

¹ The fullest and latest information on the emperors of Constantinople from 1025-1057 is to be found in the third part of *L'épopée Byzantine*, Paris, 1905, by G. Schlumberger.

Year's
vacancy of
the Holy
See.

AT the time of the death of St. Leo IX. (April 1054), the cardinal-subdeacon Hildebrand was in France inquiring into the doctrines of Berengarius of Tours, and, in the words of that innovator, "treating in the name of the apostolic authority on various ecclesiastical affairs."¹ Nothing could, of course, be done in Rome without the *Pope-maker*, to whose care the dying Leo is said to have entrusted the Church. But those in Rome to whose charge the government of the Church had been committed in the meanwhile were able to repel a final attempt of the ex-Pope, Benedict IX., to seize the papal throne by force.² This would appear to have been the unhappy man's last great crime; for it is probable that he presently retired to the monastery of Grottaferrata to bewail his sins to the hour of his death. No sooner was Hildebrand returned than, according to Bonizo at least, both clergy and people made it plain to him that it was their wish to make him Pope.³ Not only, however, had he no wish to sit on the chair of Peter, but he did not think that the time had yet come when the Church could prudently attempt to vindicate her right to elect her head freely. The *Black Emperor* was at once too good a friend and too powerful a master to be put lightly aside. Though with very great difficulty,⁴ he at length succeeded in convincing the people of this, and in arranging for a deputation to accompany him to Henry. His idea was at one and the same time to please the emperor and to safeguard the election rights of the Romans by endeavouring to obtain the nomination of

¹ *De Sacra cœna*, p. 49 ff., ed. Vischer, Berlin, 1834.

² Beno, *Gesta R. Ecc.*, ii. 10, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii. Cf. *supra*, v. p. 294 f.

³ Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. v., ed. Jaffé, p. 636. "Cum persensisset . . . Hildebrandus, Romanum clerum et populum in ejus consensisse electione," etc.

⁴ Bonizo, *l.c.*

the candidate on whom they had previously fixed their choice.¹

Accordingly, accompanied by a number of the most distinguished Roman clergy and laity,² Hildebrand crossed the Alps and found the emperor at Mainz (November 1054); and, if we are to believe Bonizo, induced him to abandon what he called his right, as *Patricius* of the Romans, of appointing the supreme Pontiffs. Certain it is, at any rate, that he was specially honoured by the emperor,³ and that the Romans demanded Gebhardt, bishop of Eichstädt, and chancellor (*economus*) of the empire, as the successor of St. Leo IX.

For information concerning the chancellor's career up to this point, we must turn to the anonymous biographer of the bishops of his see,⁴ who has some pretty things to tell us regarding him. He was the son of Beliza and Hartwig, count of Calvi, situated between Baden and Stuttgart, and on the borders of what was at this period the Duchy of Suabia.⁵ To this day the ruins of the castle of the counts of Calvi look down upon the town of the same name,

Gebhardt,
bishop of
Eichstädt.

¹ "Hild. ad imperatorem a Romanis transmissus est, ut . . . de partibus illis, quem ipse tamen vice cleri populi que R. in Rom. pontificem elegisset, adduceret." *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 89, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv. Cf. *Ann. Romani*, ap. Watterich, i. 187, and Lambert. Hersf., an. 1054. Beno, *l.c.*, pretends he went to the emperor "absque consilio R. æcclesiæ."

² "Primates Romanorum Mogontiam veniunt," says the Anonymous Haserensis, *De Epp. Eichstetensibus*, ap. Watterich, i. 177 ff. "Cum religiosus viris Alpes transiens imperatorem adiit Hild." Bonizo, *l.c.* With these authorities in front of us, the false statements of Benzo (*De Paneg. Hen.*, vii. 2, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi.) are apparent.

³ Ep. Greg., vii., i. 19.

⁴ Anon. Haserensis, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146, etc. He wrote in 1080.

⁵ Hence the Anon. just quoted says, "Suevia oriundus," and the Catalogues "Natione Noricus." Aldalbert II., count of Calvi, was Gebhardt's brother.

upon the river Nagold on which it stands, and over many of the fir-clad heights of the Black Forest.

The future Pope was a distant relative of the emperor; but, when Henry reminded him of the fact, he used to say ("ut erat facetissimus") that his parents were illustrious enough, but were not quite so aristocratic as that. In 1042 he became, while still very young, bishop of Eichstädt under the following curious circumstances. The emperor's uncle, Gebhardt, bishop of Ratisbon, had asked his nephew to bestow the See of Eichstädt on a relative of his. Henry was disposed to consent till he discovered that the candidate was the son of a priest, whereupon he firmly refused. Very much annoyed, the bishop declared that the real reason of the emperor's action was his contempt for him. To show that this suspicion was false, Henry assured him that if he would present to him any other of his relations who was a fit and proper person, he would grant him the bishopric. Gebhardt at once brought forward his namesake. Prejudiced against him on account of his extreme youth, the emperor asked the advice of one bishop after another, and at length turned to St. Bardo, archbishop of Mainz, who, as was his wont, was sitting quiet and recollected with his cowl drawn over his head. Looking at him earnestly, the archbishop replied: "My lord, you may well bestow on him this power, for one day you will grant him a greater." At a loss to understand the holy man's meaning, but satisfied with his permission, the emperor "gave the ring and pastoral staff" to the young Gebhardt. When his father heard the news he was overjoyed, and at once asked who was the patron saint of his son's diocese. When he was told St. Willibald, he exclaimed: "Bah! my dream has deceived me," for he had once dreamt that his son was to be a bishop under St. Peter. "But," adds his biographer, "his time had not yet come."

Despite his youth, Gebhardt showed himself an able bishop, so much so indeed that he soon became "better than many bishops in the empire, and inferior to but few." Especially was he remarkable for his skill and dispatch in deciding cases. His well-deserved fame soon reached the ears of the emperor, who associated him with himself in the administration of the empire. In office he succeeded in overcoming envy by virtue—"a most exceptional accomplishment." And he gave evidence of his varied ability by showing that he could be as able a general as an administrator. When Duke Conrad was exiled into Hungary (1053), Gebhardt took over the government of his Duchy of Bavaria; and during his term of rule inflicted such chastisement on the freebooting Schirenses that up to our author's days they had not forgotten it. When he was now at the height of his power, and second to the king, "it seemed both to the emperor himself and to many others that St. Bardo's prophecy concerning *the greater power* had been already fulfilled."¹

Counsellor
of the
emperor.

But what the greater power was to be, became plain enough to Henry and to Gebhardt when Hildebrand and the Romans presented their petition. It is hard to say whether it was more distasteful to the emperor or to the bishop. The one was loth to lose his favourite minister;² the other to take upon himself a burden which had in so short a time proved fatal to so many of his countrymen. But the Romans would have no other than Gebhardt, and the more he refused the proffered dignity, the more were they determined to have him.³ It was even said that he secretly sent envoys to Rome with instructions to defame

The em-
peror and
bishop
both give
way.

¹ *Anon. Haser.*

² *Chron. Cas., l.c.*

³ "Qui totis viribus renisus, quanto plus oblatam dignitatem recusavit, tanto Romanorum desiderium ad optinendum eum provocavit" (*Anon. Haser.*).

his character; and he certainly employed learned men at home¹ to try to save him from the position he dreaded.

Gebhardt
consents,
March
1055.

But, as the historian of his See reminds us, "there is no wisdom, there is no counsel against the Lord," and, in a great diet at Ratisbon, Gebhardt brought the whole affair to a close "by a few but very noteworthy words." "Behold," said he to the emperor, "I give myself up body and soul to the service of St. Peter, and, although I know myself to be unworthy of so holy a See, I will obey your commands on condition that you restore to St. Peter what belongs to him." To this the emperor agreed, and Hildebrand carried off the unwilling bishop in triumph to Rome.² No wonder he used to declare half in jest and half in earnest that he did not love monks!³

He be-
comes
Pope.

Following the narrative of Leo of Monte Cassino, we may go on to say that it was Hildebrand who procured the assent of the Roman people to his choice of Gebhardt as Pope, who suggested to him to assume the name of Victor, and who did not rest till he was enthroned on Holy Thursday, April 13, 1055.⁴ "For three years Victor ruled

¹ "In quibus et noster magister" (*Anon.*).

² *Chron. Cas., l.c.* "Hunc ergo Hildebrandus. . . . Romam secum adduxit."

³ *Ib.* That he spoke only half in earnest is clear from the interest he took in the welfare of the monks. Writing to Theobald, count of Blois, he says: "We know the anxiety which animates you on the subject of good and bad monks, and the glory which the Almighty has caused you to win before all men on account of it. . . . The abbot of Montier-en-Der has related to us with tears of joy all the services which the greatness of your piety has rendered to his abbey in correcting unworthy brothers, causing his villages, mills, and other property to be restored, etc. . . . We give you abundant thanks. . . . Do the work of God, and God will do yours" (*Ep.* 11). For the version we have used see Montalembert, *Monks*, vi. 82.

⁴ *Chron. Cas., l.c.* Cf. Bonizo, *l.c.*, "Cumque in ecclesia b. Petri secundum morem antiquum clerus elegisset populusque laudasset, statim cardinales, ut moris est, eum intronizantes." He retained his bishopric of Eichstädt whilst he lived. Lambert., 1057.



The Countess Matilda.
(From the Vatican MS. of Donnizo.)

(From *Matilda of Tuscany*, by Nora Duff. By permission of
Messrs. Methuen & Co.)

the Apostolic See most gloriously, and, among his other virtues, displayed such liberality that the Romans glorified him both in life and in death."¹

Gebhardt's arrival in Italy was followed almost immediately by that of the emperor. He was both annoyed and alarmed that Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, who had long been a rebel to his authority, had married his cousin Beatrice, the widow of Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, and had thus become the most powerful noble in Italy² (1054). He feared lest, through the influence of the new marquis, the Italians, "ever ready for revolution,"³ should turn against the empire; and his apprehensions were deepened by the arrival of an embassy from the Romans, which came to beg him to enter Italy to check the power of Godfrey.⁴ His prompt action disconcerted the marquis, who hastily quitted Italy, and left his wife to try to pacify him. Taking her daughter Matilda along with her, she went boldly before the emperor, and, while assuring him that in marrying Godfrey she had no thought of doing anything against the interests of the empire, plainly told him that she had only done what the "law of nations" gave her every right to do.⁵ Utterly failing not merely in

The emperor enters Italy, April 1055.

¹ *Anon. Haser.*

² Bertholdi *Chron.*, 1054. We may again remind the reader that there are two chroniclers of the name of *Berthold*, both well disposed towards Gregory VII. One of them was a disciple and friend of Hermannus Contractus, continued his chronicle (ap. *M. G. SS.*, v., or *P. L.*, tt. 143 and 147), and died in 1080. From the year 1073 he uses the chronicle of the other Berthold (Bernald). The other Berthold, also called Bernold and Bernald—and to distinguish him from the first Berthold we shall always call him Bernald—became a monk of St. Blaise, was the author of several pamphlets on topics of the day, was one of the very ablest and most temperate of Gregory's partisans, and wrote a chronicle (ap. *M. G. SS.*, v., and *P. L.*, t. 148) of the first importance, at least from 1054-1100, continuing it till the very year of his death, 1100.

³ Lambert of Hersfeld, *Ann.*, 1054.

⁴ *Ib.*, 1055.

— ⁵ *Ib.*

magnanimity but in justice, the emperor simply replied that she ought not to have married without his knowledge, kept both her and her daughter in honourable captivity as hostages, and brought them back with him to Germany.¹ He also took action at the same time against Godfrey's brother, Cardinal Frederick, who had just returned to Rome from Constantinople with a large sum of money and valuable presents, of most of which, however,—a fact perhaps unknown to the emperor—he had been robbed by Trasmund, count of Teate.² Fearful lest this treasure should come into the hands of Godfrey, Henry wrote to the Pope, and bade him seize the cardinal, and send him to him at once.³ But hearing through his friends of the emperor's ill-will against him, Frederick left Rome, and became a monk at Monte Cassino.⁴

The Pope
and the
emperor at
Florence,
1055.

Meanwhile the emperor had advanced as far south as Tuscany, and was in the month of May joined by Victor at Florence. On Whit Sunday (June 4), in presence of the emperor and the Pope, a synod was held at which one hundred and twenty bishops assisted. Through the active agency of Hildebrand,⁵ further steps were taken to carry

¹ Lambert, *ib.* Cf., with regard to the captivity of Beatrice and Matilda, Bonizo ("dolo captas secum duxit") and Berthold, 1055 ("Beatrix . . . quamquam data fide, tenetur").

² *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 88. Most of the treasure seems to have ultimately found its way to Monte Cassino. Cf. *ib.*, 91, 94, 99, etc.

³ *ib.*, ii. 89. "Scripserat (Imperator) Apostolico, ut illum (Fridericum) caperet, sibi que festinanter studeret transmittere."

⁴ *ib.* Cf. the privilege he gave the abbey when he became Pope. He says that it received him "mundanis procellis tunc naufragantem." *ib.*, c. 96, n. 6. Anxious to save the emperor's honour, much besmirched by these transactions, Lambert of Hersfeld says nothing about his order to seize the cardinal, but would have us believe that, though "quod factum male plerique interpretabantur," it was faith, disgust of the world, and ill-health which caused Frederick to go to Monte Cassino.

⁵ "Consilio Hildebrandi," Bonizo, *l.c.*

on the work of reform inaugurated by Leo. Not only were the decrees against simony and the incontinence of clerics reaffirmed, but several bishops, convicted of breaches of them, were deposed.¹ It was no doubt, too, on this occasion that, reminding the emperor of his promise, Victor obtained through him, sometimes even against his inclinations, the restoration of no small amount of papal property.² In 872 Louis II. had granted the Holy See Nursia and other towns, which involved the grant of a large portion of the Duchy of Spoleto, which seems to have then included the March of Fermo, Camerino, or Ancona, as it is variously called.³ And it would appear that Henry the Black made over the whole Duchy with its dependent March to the Roman Church. At any rate, various documents have been preserved⁴ which show that Victor II. at least was its duke and marquis. In all these negotiations with Henry there was naturally much that disappointed the Pope, and, calling to mind how he had himself been the cause of baulking the policy of Leo IX., he would sigh and exclaim, "I am well served, inasmuch as I myself opposed my lord."⁵

It would appear that for some months after the council of Florence, the Pope and Hildebrand remained with the emperor in central Italy, probably engaged in establishing on a firmer basis the imperial and the papal authority in the northern half of Italy. But with the Normans and

The emperor returns to Germany, and the Pope to Rome, 1055.

¹ Bonizo, *ib.*, St. Peter Dam., *Epp.*, iv., 12, and *Ann. Altahenses Majores*, 1055.

² *Anon. Haser.*, cited above. The passage continues: "Roman-que ecclesiam multis honoribus ampliavit, ditavit, sublimavit."

³ The March seems to have received these different appellations from the fact of its marquis residing now in one of these towns and now in another.

⁴ Muratori, *Ann.*, 1057, and Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. 98 n. Cf. Delarc, ii. 15.

⁵ *Chron. Cas.*, l.c.

southern Italy, Henry was prevented from interfering by having to return to Germany (November), in order to cope with the difficulties which Godfrey was causing in Lorraine, and to subdue a conspiracy formed against him by many of the powerful nobles of his kingdom.¹

Hildebrand
again visits
France,
1056.

In the beginning of the new year, the Pope dispatched Hildebrand² to France in order to continue the work of reform from which the death of St. Leo had recalled him. Especially had he to combat simony, encouraged unfortunately by the French king (Henry I.), who paid no heed to the admonitions on the subject addressed him both by Leo IX. and Victor.³ The intrepid monk resumed his task with his accustomed energy, and we find it recorded that the "apocrisiarius Aldebran"⁴ presided at various councils at which the suppression of simony was aimed at. In one of them, held apparently at Embrun, its archbishop, Hugo, accused of simony, continued against all evidence to deny his guilt. To bring matters to a head, Hildebrand, acting on the advice of the other bishops, thus addressed him: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, whose gifts you are accused of buying, I adjure you to confess the truth on this subject. May heaven prevent you from pronouncing the name of the Holy Spirit as long as you persist in denying the truth." A man of ready speech, the archbishop at once proceeded to pronounce the sacred names. But, to the profound amazement of all, he was unable, after repeated efforts, to enunciate the name of the Holy Ghost. Utterly stupefied,

¹ *Ann. Altahenses maj.*, 1055.

² As he told Abbot Desiderius, afterwards Victor III., "A b. m. Victore . . . in Galliam pro ecclesiasticis negotiis discutiendis essem transmissus." *Dialog.*, iii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1013.

³ Cf. the vigorous denunciation of the simoniacal monarch by Humbert. *Adv. simoniacos*, iii. 7, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143, p. 1150.

⁴ Mansi, *Concil.*, xix., p. 843.

the archbishop humbly confessed his fault, and along with six other bishops was deposed.¹

When Hildebrand had to return to Rome, the work of purifying the Church of France was continued by the Pope's orders,² under the presidency of Raimbaud, archbishop of Arles, and Pontius, archbishop of Aix, whom he had appointed his legates. Nothing will show so well the nature of the cleansing to be effected than "a complaint" which was addressed "to the assembly of the vicars of God (at the council of Toulouse), and to the legates of the supreme Roman Pontiff who holds the place of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles," by Berenger, viscount, or *proconsul*, as he called himself, of Narbonne. During the days of his uncle, Archbishop Ermengaud, the church of Narbonne, so the complaint set forth, was "one of the most flourishing between Rome and Spain." Its possessions of all kinds were great, and its church library was full of books, *plena erat codicibus*. On the death of Ermengaud, Guifred, count of Cerdagne, a relation of whom Berenger had married, approached the viscount himself and his parents, as well as the count of Rodez, with a view to having his ten-year-old son elected to the archbishopric, and offered to divide the sum of 100,000 solidi between Berenger's father and the count. At first the viscount's parents were unwilling to have anything to do with so base a transaction; but when

Work of
reform pro-
ceeds in his
absence.

¹ Victor, *Dial.*, l.c.; Bonizo, l.c.; Damian., *Opusc. de abdic. episc.*, c. 6, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145; and Victor's bull of July 7, 1057, giving the pallium to Hugo's successor, ap. Jaffé, 4369 (3313).

² The council of Toulouse, Sept. 1056, was held "jussu D. P. Victoris." Labbe, *Conc.*, ix. 1084. The Fathers issued their decrees for the provinces of Gaul and Spain, "S. Petri autoritate et prænominati papæ jussione," and the legates acted in the Pope's stead—"vicarios vice sua." *Ib.* This synod, besides denouncing simony, etc., had to anathematise those powerful laity who seized everything they could, not only abbeys, but even the incomes of the schoolmasters, "honorem magistri scholæ." Can. 8.

their son, through love of his wife, threatened to kill them if they did not consent to Guifred's wishes, they and the count of Rodez took the money, and the boy, Guifred (he had the same name as his father), became archbishop of Narbonne. As might have been expected, he showed himself altogether more like one of the ordinary nobles of the period than a priest. He had no sooner come to man's estate than he quarrelled with Berenger, who had no doubt counted on making him his creature. He raised troops and made open war on the viscount, in the course of which thousands of men, we are told, were slain. For the purposes of his campaigns, and to raise 100,000 solidi to buy the bishopric of Urgel for his brother, he absolutely ruined his diocese and his cathedral church. Books, relic-cases, chalices, everything found their way into the hands of money-grabbing (*aurificum*) Jews. No match apparently for the truculent archbishop, Berenger wished to have their differences settled "by the decision of the apostolic legate." To this Guifred refused to agree; and when his enemy appealed to the Pope,¹ he excommunicated both him and his wife, and laid his territory under a cruel interdict. Were it not for the fear of God, Berenger assured the assembled Fathers that he would have disregarded Guifred's sentence, the more so that the archbishop had himself been already excommunicated by Pope Victor.² And though, in concluding his *complaint*, the viscount declared his readiness to go to Rome, he bluntly told the Fathers of Toulouse that if they did not give him the justice he sought, he would treat the archbishop's excommunication with con-

¹ "Exclamavi S. Petrum et judicium D. Apostolici." *Querimonia Berengarii*, ap. Labbe, ix. p. 1257.

² In 1078, Gregory VII., in a council at Rome, renewed the excommunication which his predecessors had issued against Guifred. Cf. Jaffé, sub 4335; et *Mon. Gregor.* p. 306.

tempt, never keep the peace nor continue his appeal to the Apostolic See.¹

It is no concern of ours here to inquire as to exactly how far the *complaint* of Berenger was well founded. His own words about himself, combined with Victor's and other Popes' condemnation of Guifred, are enough to show that the picture it presents is accurate enough, at least in its dark outlines, and lets us see what need there was, in the interests of the weak and of law and order, that the results of the reforming zeal of the Domnus Apostolicus should be felt everywhere. Evidently it was only for the Pope of Rome that the turbulent clerical and lay nobles of the age had any respect at all.

Passing on to Spain, whither found its way most of the ^{Spain.} church plate of the cathedral of Narbonne, we shall find that two facts at once call for notice. The first is that the demand for a reformation of manners was being heard, even amid the clash of arms, in that peninsula, and that the Spanish bishops were endeavouring to meet it.² The other is the steady progress of the Christian kingdoms at the expense of the Moors. This was chiefly due to the valour of one of the greatest of the sovereigns who have ruled in Spain, viz., Ferdinand I., king of Castile and Leon. Elated by his successes, and by the fact that he ruled over more than one kingdom, he was induced to assume the title of emperor.³ This

¹ "In meam terram treugam nullam tenebo, neque iudicium apostolici amplius adclambo." *Quer.*, p. 1258.

² Cf. the acts of the synod (1056) at St. James-of-Compostela.

³ So at least assert Baronius, Pagi, and other modern authors after Mariana (†1623), one of the most distinguished of Spanish historians, who wrote his *Historia general de España* (9 vols., Valencia, 1783-1805) first in Latin, before the end of the sixteenth century, and afterwards translated it into Spanish. It was afterwards translated into English, London, 1699. The passage from Mariana is L. 9, c. 4.

assumption was not unnaturally resented by the Emperor Henry, who sent ambassadors in order to denounce it first to the assembled Fathers at the council of Tours (1055), which was being held by Hildebrand, and then to Pope Victor and the council of Florence. Both Pope and council decided that the German emperor's contentions were just; and envoys were dispatched by them to remonstrate with the Spanish monarch in their name, and to threaten excommunication and interdict if their decrees were unheeded by him. Ferdinand at once assembled the bishops and nobles of his kingdoms; and while, through the influence of the famous Roderic Diaz, the Cid, the assembly declared its complete independence of the empire, it resolved, in deference to the Roman Pontiff, that it was desirable that their sovereign should lay aside the imperial title. These recommendations were accepted by Ferdinand, who dismissed the ambassadors with the assurance that he would obey the behests of the Pope.¹

England.

The activities of Victor were not confined to the continent of Europe. He was equally interested in those "who inhabited the isles of the sea, to wit, the Irish (Scoti) and English."² Sending "health and apostolical benediction to his most beloved son King Edward and to all the nobility of the English," he confirmed, in response to a request of the king, the ancient privileges which the Roman Church had already conferred on the monastery of Ely.³ To Archbishop Kynsie (Cynesige), who had come all the way from York for the purpose, he presented his pallium,⁴

¹ "Ferdinandus acquiescens respondit legatis se effecturum quod sedes apostolica præcepisset." Labbe, *Concil.*, ix. p. 1082. Cf. Bowden, *Gregory VII.*, p. 177-9. Both follow Mariana.

² Ep. 12.

³ Ep. 9. "Mandamus ergo . . . liberam esse ecclesiam."

⁴ *A.-Sax, Chron.*, an. 1055.

and he had to take action in the affair of Archbishop Stigand. If the reader will turn to a preceding page of this work,¹ he will see how, by the influence of the party of Earl Godwin, the unworthy bishop of Winchester, Stigand, was put in possession of the See of Canterbury (1052), though its legitimate occupant, Robert of Jumièges, was still alive, and had not been canonically deposed. The usurper had been excommunicated by St. Leo IX., whose example was followed by four of his successors.² And if "bishops-elect sought consecration abroad,"³ the reason was that Victor II. had forbidden the bishops of the province of Canterbury to seek it at the hands of the intruder Stigand.⁴ This illiterate pluralist who had obtained the archbishopric by force was destined to lose it by the same means at the hands of William the Conqueror.

Before retracing our steps to follow the movements of The East. the Pope himself, attention may here be called to one more of his letters, viz. to the one which by mistake was formerly attributed to Victor III., and which was addressed to the aged Empress Theodora, who was placed on the throne of the Byzantine Cæsars in the same year as Victor II. took possession of the chair of Peter. The document would seem to be another illustration of the fact that contem-

¹ P. 173. ² *A Hist. of the English Church*, i. p. 408, by W. Hunt.

³ *Ib.*, p. 406.

⁴ Cf. the profession of Remigius in Giraldus Cambrensis, ap. Jaffé, 4357. As we have had occasion to notice before in similar cases, mention of the action of the Pope is omitted by Mr. Hunt. If he had always recorded his interference in the affairs of "the English Church" when it is expressly noted in the annals of history, his readers would have been in a better position to judge how far the following remark of his was well-founded: "While it regarded the Roman See with gratitude and reverence, it seldom either sought or accepted guidance from Rome" (p. 414). The *it* is "the English Church."

poraries did not realise that an impassable gulf had been formed between Rome and Constantinople by the acts of the papal legates and of the patriarch Michael Cerularius in 1053.¹ At first Theodora allowed herself to be ruled by the ambitious patriarch, who is thought to have favoured her promotion for the furtherance of his own ends. But her short reign of eighteen months was not far advanced when she spurned the yoke which he was placing upon her.² It may well be that knowledge of this fact was not without its influence on the letter which the Pope wrote to her. Reminding her that it was his duty to admonish both great and small, especially indeed the great, as they can do so much more good or harm "to the poor of Christ," he begged her to abolish the insupportable tax which was placed upon pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre by the imperial officials. Not only was a heavy tax of three *aurei*³ levied on each of their horses, but the horses themselves were liable to be seized for the public service, and a sum of like amount was exacted from every two persons on foot. He reminded her that the delinquencies of subordinates were visited on their superiors, wished her every blessing for this life and the next, and exhorted her ever to be mindful of and to venerate the Roman Church "as her first and proper mother," just as She had ever honoured her and her family before her.⁴ Death (August 1056) prevented Theodora from carrying into effect her designs against the all-powerful Cerularius,⁵ and the tax remained

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 156 ff.

² Cf. Bréhier, *Le schisme oriental*, p. 249, relying on Psellus, *Orais. fun.*, i.

³ The aureus was one-seventy-second part of a pound of gold, or twelve shillings.

⁴ Ep. I, inter epp. Vict. III., ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 961. Cf. Jaffé, 4342 (4015).

⁵ Bréhier, *l.c.*, from the same source.

to swell the feelings of bitterness against the Greeks which showed themselves in the conduct of the Latins towards them in the Crusades.

Very little is known of the doings of the Pope from the time that Hildebrand went to France till the summer of 1056, when he betook himself to Germany. During this interval, however, he had a difference with the monks of Monte Cassino. The abbacy of this great monastery had become vacant in December 1055; and, as the Pope complained in various letters to the monks, they (*i.e.*, a majority of them) had acted very wrongly in electing the monk Peter as their new abbot without either consulting him or obtaining the emperor's permission.¹ The fact perhaps was that Peter, though a very holy man, was regarded both by a number of his brethren, and especially by the Pope, as wholly unsuited to rule the abbey and its great domains at a time when a strong will and a clear intellect were needed to cope with the aggressive Normans. To explain their conduct, the brethren at once dispatched some of their number both to the Pope and to the emperor. It seemed to them that it was Victor's intention to get the monastery into his power. However, they boldly declared that even by papal privilege it belonged to the monks to elect their abbots, and to the Popes only to consecrate them. Settlement of the affair, delayed by the Pontiff's journey to Germany, was brought about by the resignation of Peter, and the subsequent election of Frederick, the cardinal of Lorraine, a candidate as satisfactory to Victor as to the monks² (May 1057).

In July 1056 the Pope was in his March of Firmana at
Victor in
the Ab-
ruzzi.

¹ *Chron. Cas.*, ii. c. 94, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv. 406. Cf. Aimé, *L'Ystoire*, l. iii. See also Tosti, *Storia di Mt. Cassino*, vol. i. p. 207 ff., ed. Naples, 1842.

² *Chron. Cas.*, *l.c.*, and c. 96.

Aprutium (Teramo),¹ no doubt on his way to Germany. We there find him restoring property to its bishop, and decreeing, "in the name of King Henry and his own," that any breach of his decision would be punished by a fine of fifty pounds to the royal exchequer, and of a like amount both to his treasury and to the bishop.²

We have no means of saying whether or not he had previously visited the southern portion of Italy. But in any case the story of the sufferings which the people were there enduring from the ravages of the Normans was poured into his ears. It was more than he could bear.³ This cry of distress, and perhaps, too, indications of unrest on the part of the Romans,⁴ caused him to lend a favourable ear to the repeated requests of the emperor that he would come to him in Germany.⁵

Meets the
emperor at
Goslar,
1056.

Accordingly, about the month of August he moved northwards from Aprutium and found the emperor at Goslar (September 8). He would have been greeted with a splendour altogether unprecedented, had not God, who wished, we are told, to show how empty was all such display, sent a furious storm of rain at the very moment of the Pope's arrival.⁶ On account of the feast, the Nativity of Our Lady, and to welcome the sovereign Pontiff, the wealth and

¹ Originally one of the many *interamnas* (between-streams) to be found in Italy. This particular one was known as *Interamnæ Prætutiorum*.

² Jaffé, 4348 (3300).

³ "Clamor populi illius regionis non valebat sufferre." *Ann. Rom.*, ap. Watterich, i. 188. Cf. Delarc, p. 18 n.

⁴ Radulph, who wrote the *Life* of his superior Liebbert, bishop of Cambrai (†1076), says (c. 42 *in vit.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146): "Qui (Victor) pro causis papatus per Romanos male tractatus apud ipsum (imperatorem) conquesturus venerat."

⁵ *Anon. Haser.*, "Ab . . . imperatore plurimis et accuratissimis legationibus evocatus."

⁶ *Ib.*

power of the empire had assembled at Goslar. But the deluge of rain converted what was to have been a most glorious and solemn procession of magnates into a disorderly flight.¹

Despite the weather, however, attention was given both to business and to pleasure. The Pope succeeded in reconciling Hanno, the new archbishop of Cologne, with the emperor,² and then the court migrated to Bodfeld in the Hartz Mountains for hunting purposes. But unfortunately the emperor's days were numbered. A fever attacked him, and, feeling that the hand of Death was upon him, he prepared to meet his end like a man and a Christian. "He asked pardon of all whom he could, restored certain ill-gotten goods, forgave those who had injured him,³ confessed his sins to the Pope and to the other bishops and priests who surrounded his bedside, and received absolution (*indulgentiam*) from them,⁴ as well as the holy viaticum of the Body and Blood of the Lord." To provide as far as possible for the maintenance of order in his kingdom after his demise, he entrusted it and his successor, Henry IV., a child six years old, to the care of the Pope;⁵ and, after an illness of about a week, gave up his soul into the hands of its Maker (October 5, 1056).

Death
of the
Emperor
Henry III.

¹ *Anon. Haser.* Cf. Lamberti *Ann.*, 1056, etc.

² *Vit. Annonis*, i. 7, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

³ *Chron. Ekkehardi*, 1056, ap. *P. L.*, t. 154.

⁴ *Anon. Haser.*, "Quibus (the Pope, bishops, etc.) et confessionem fecit et a quibus indulgentiam accepit." "Publice confessionem peccatorum facit . . . sacro corporis et sanguinis Domini viatico confirmatus." *Ann. Althenses maj.*, 1056.

⁵ *Chron. Ekkehard., l.c.* "Filium suum Heinricum Romani pontificis ceterorumque pontificum et principum electione regem constituit." Cf. *Chron. Cas. et Ann. Rom.*, ad an. 1056. St. Peter Damian, to induce the Pope to remedy a wrong, reminded him (speaking in the name of our Lord), "Etiam monarchias addidi—immo sublato rege de medio, totius Romani imperii vacantis tibi jura permisi." Ep. i. 5. Cf. S. Greg. VII., Epp. i. 19.

His body was transported to Spires, where, according to the arrangements made by the Pope and the widowed Empress Agnes, it was buried on the anniversary of the day on which he had been born (October 28), "in order that, on the very day on which he had come forth from the womb of his mother, he might be laid in the bosom of the earth, the common mother of every mortal."¹

The Pope
arranges
the succe-
sion.

Through the general uprightness of his character, and especially through his uncompromising hostility to simony, Henry had in many ways deserved well of the Church, even though he occasionally acted as its master. And so Hildebrand, whose life was devoted to freeing it from the thralldom to which he and his predecessors had reduced it, always spoke well of him. But his early death, though disastrous for the empire, was advantageous for the Church. Her path to freedom was greatly smoothed thereby. Meanwhile, now supreme in both Church and State, Victor exerted himself with striking success to preserve the empire from the calamities to be naturally expected on the accession of a child. The occasion called forth all the skill of the former minister. In the East the Slavs had just defeated an imperial army with great slaughter, and, in the West, Godfrey of Lorraine and his allies were still in arms. The first care of the Pope was to cause the boy-king to be solemnly enthroned at Aix-la-Chapelle and the nobles to swear fealty to him,² and his next to reconcile Godfrey and Baldwin of Flanders with Henry at a council which he held in December at Cologne.³ Still in company with the Pope, Henry met

¹ *Anon. Haser.*

² "Rex vero Henricus per D. papam ad Aquasgrani deducitur et in sede regali collocatur." *Ann. Alt. maj.*, 1056; *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 94. Hence Paul Bernried, *in vit. Greg.*, c. 60, says that the youthful Henry succeeded to the throne "permittente R. Pontifice."

³ *Ib.*, and Sigebert of Gemblours, 1056.

the princes of the empire on Christmas Day at Ratisbon.¹ His position was secured, and the Pope, with the empire deeply in his debt,² returned to Rome in the beginning of the Lent of 1057.

On his arrival in Rome, Victor occupied himself not only with holding councils,³ settling various matters in connection with bishoprics,⁴ and granting privileges,⁵ but also with the Norman question. Unable to bring the pressure of arms to bear upon the *Agareni* (for so, regarding them as equally vicious as the Saracens, the people called the Normans), he seems to have tried diplomacy, and, according to the Annals of Augsburg, succeeded in inducing them to have a greater regard for peace.⁶ His energy indeed at this period was such that we can have no reason to call in question the soundness of the conclusion of his anonymous admirer to the effect that if he had lived longer, "he would have made both the ears of many people tingle."⁷ But his pontificate had not much longer to run. He left Rome for Tuscany, never to return, towards the end of May.

One of the objects of this, his last journey from Rome, was no doubt to examine for himself on the spot the causes of the perennial dispute between the bishops of Arezzo and Sienna, which was brought before him also. Another reason would be to take further steps towards drawing still closer

The Pope
in Rome,
1057.

In
Tuscany.

¹ *Ann. Alt.*, 1057; Lambert, *ib.*, 1056.

² "Victor . . . multis bene in Germania aliisque regni Romani partibus pontificum vel principum . . . consilio dispositis, Romam . . . rediit." *Chron. Ekkehard.*, 1057. "Dispositisque laudabiliter regni negotiis." *Anon. Haser.* Cf. Lambert, *Ann.*, 1057; and *Ann. Hildesheim*, 1057.

³ Jaffé, sub 4364.

⁴ *ib.*

⁵ *ib.*, 4365. Among others, one is addressed to Humbert of Silva Candida, whom he highly extols for his great services to the Apostolic See. Ep. 16.

⁶ "Papa cisalpinis partibus reversus, Nortmannos ceterosque rebelles pacificat." *Ann. Augustani*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii.

⁷ *Anon. Haser.*

the bonds of union between the Papacy and the House of Tuscany. Even if he had not been joined by Hildebrand in Germany, it is certain that he was accompanied by him on this occasion.

We have already seen how, emboldened by the death of the emperor, the monks of Monte Cassino had, to the entire satisfaction of the Pope, elected Frederick of Lorraine as their abbot.¹ In the month of June the newly elected abbot followed Victor into Tuscany, and was in the first place ordained by him cardinal-priest of St. Chrysogonus² (June 14), that fourth-century basilica of which the late Pope Leo XIII., of glorious memory, was titular when he was elected supreme Pontiff. Ten days later he consecrated him abbot.³ Assured of the goodwill at least of Beatrice, Duke Godfrey's wife, who had been restored to him, and of his stepdaughter Matilda, Victor was evidently bent on attaching to the Papacy by the strong bonds of friendship the now most powerful House of Lorraine-Tuscany. In Italy there was no family comparable in influence to that of Godfrey, who received or assumed about this time the titles of "standard-bearer of the Romans, patricius of Rome, marquis of Italy, prefect of Ancona, and marquis of Pisa."⁴ The fruit of Victor's attention to this influential family was to be garnered by the Papacy at no distant date. The great Countess Matilda was to prove the strongest barrier to the tyrannical designs of Henry IV.

Victor's
last public
act.

Before the new abbot returned to Rome, he assisted, along with Hildebrand, the *provisor* of the monastery of St. Paul, outside-the-walls, and with several bishops of different Tuscan cities, at a council which the Pope sum-

¹ *Supra*, p. 199 f.

² *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 96.

³ *Ib.* He then issued a bull confirming the privileges of the abbot and monastery of Monte Cassino. Jaffé, 4368 (3312).

⁴ Jocundus, *Trans. S. Servatii*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii. 115; and *Chron. S. Hubert.*, c. 23 (32), ap. *M. G. SS.*, viii., or *P. L.*, t. 154.

moned to settle the dispute between the bishops of Arezzo and Sienna regarding jurisdiction over various parishes (July 23).¹ The assembly met in the palace of St. Donatus, near the city of Arezzo, and would appear to have decided in favour of the claims of Arezzo.²

Five days after the closing of the council, its chief was lying dead in the city near which it had been held. Death and
burial of
Victor. Anxious to have the body of their illustrious countryman buried in their midst, a number of Germans set out with it for "the toparch of Eichstädt." In the neighbourhood of Ravenna, however, they fell into an ambush prepared for them by a number of its inhabitants, and were robbed of all they had. They were forced, therefore, to bury the remains they so jealously guarded outside Ravenna, "in the basilica of St. Mary, which is of the shape of the Roman Pantheon, and with sorrowful hearts to make their way back, as best they could, to their country."³ The basilica in question was the well-known round mausoleum of Theodoric, which had been converted into a monastic church. These distressing circumstances connected with the Pope's burial serve well to illustrate the lawless condition of the age, and may be looked upon as a complement to the disregard shown by the emperors to the canon law in their elections of Popes. In the sudden and premature death of Victor we have to mourn the

¹ About a fortnight before this (July 7), Victor issued an important privilege for the church of Embrun, at the request of its archbishop, Winimann, whom he had himself consecrated. "Secundum quod tua devotio postulavit, sibi privilegium nostræ apostolicæ auctoritatis *ad corroborationem* sui archiepiscopatus, in rudi et indisciplinata ecclesia . . . concedimus." Ep. 19. Cf. Delarc, ii. 362 ff.

² Jaffé, 4370.

³ *Anon. Hæser.*, and Jaffé, *ib.* According to St. Peter Damian (*Opusc.* 56, c. 8), an eclipse of the moon foreshadowed the deaths in the same year of the Pope and the emperor; "et ætate virentes et dignitate florentes."

loss of another of those German Popes whose lives were an honour to themselves, an advantage to the Church, and a credit to those who nominated them.¹

¹ Neither epitaph nor coin of Victor seems to be extant. There is a story that on one occasion, when he was saying Mass, the subdeacon put poison into the chalice along with the wine. Wishful after the consecration to raise the chalice, the Pope found to his astonishment that he was unable to do so. When, with the people, he prayed to God to know the cause of this strange circumstance, the poisoner was possessed by the devil. At once divining the cause, the Pope ordered the chalice with the blood of the Lord to be enclosed in an altar and preserved for ever as relics. Then he continued praying until the unfortunate subdeacon was delivered from his possession.

This legend has not been noticed in the text, as it does not rest on Lambert of Hersfeld, as used to be thought, but occurs at the close of the unoriginal part of Bernald's *Chronicle*, ad an. 1054, ap. *L. P.*, t. 148, p. 1365. Cf. Lamberti *Chron.*, n. 1, an. 1054, ed. Holder-Egger.

STEPHEN (IX.) X.

A.D. 1057-1058.

Sources.—The Catalogue and Chronicles as before. There is a short notice of him of no great value in *De ortu et obitu justt. cœnob. Cas.*, n. 58, by Peter the deacon, a monk of Monte Cassino (twelfth century), ap. Mai, *Script. Vet.*, vi. p. 278. In *P. L.*, t. 143, there are eight letters or privileges of this Pope, and three or four more are to be found, ap. Robert, *Étienne X.*¹

Modern Works.—U. Robert has gathered together in a little work (*Hist. du P. Étienne X.*, Bruxelles, 1892) all that is known of this Belgian Pope. The book is an extension of his paper on the same subject, ap. *Revue des Quest. Hist.*, April 1876. Its contents are embodied in this biography.

EMPEROR OF THE EAST.

Isaac Comnenus, 1057-1059.²

ONE of the distinguished group of men whom Leo IX. Cardinal Frederick. gathered round him, and inspired with his own ardent zeal for the reform of the Church and of the world, was Cardinal Junian³ Frederick. Born probably towards the

¹ Woodcuts of the leaden *bullæ* attached to the papal bulls are given in Ciaconius, *Vit. Pont. Rom.*, ed. Romæ, 1630.

² For other contemporary sovereigns see the beginning of the *Life* of Victor II.

³ This part of his name is only vouched for by his epitaph, which is but a very second-rate authority. See the end of this biography.

beginning of the eleventh century, he was the son of Gothelon or Gozelon, duke of Lotharingia or Lower Lorraine, and of Junca, the daughter of Berengarius II., the last king of Italy. The rebellious attitude of his brother, Godfrey the Bearded, towards the empire soon caused him to become an object of suspicion to the Emperor Henry III., and the marriage of the same brother with Beatrice of Tuscany brought him into relationship with the most powerful house in Italy.

The learning for which he was distinguished from his youth upwards,¹ he acquired at the school of St. Lambert of Liège,² which at that time was in a most flourishing condition. In due course he became a canon and then archdeacon of St. Lambert's. It was in all likelihood while he was holding that office that Leo IX., on the occasion of his second visit to Germany, took him into the service of the Roman Church. He made him chancellor and librarian of the Apostolic See; and in March 1051 we find his signature appended to papal bulls as deacon, librarian and chancellor of the Apostolic See, holding the place of Herimann, archchancellor and archbishop of Cologne.³

As chancellor he accompanied Pope Leo in his apostolic journeys, thus gaining a personal knowledge of many parts of the Church he was destined to rule. We find him on the plains of Hungary; reading aloud before emperor and

¹ "A puero liberalibus litterarum studiis eruditus." Leo, *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 96, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv.

² According to Giles of Orval, or of Liège, a thirteenth-century writer, Frederick, when he became Pope, sent presents to his old school as a mark of his gratitude for the education he had there received. Cf. *Gesta Episc. Leod.*, c. 8, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxv.

³ Jaffé, 4254 (3234); Lambert, *Chron.*, an. 1051; and Lawrence of Liège (fl. 1144), who wrote the most important part of the *Hist. Epp. Virdunensium*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. Sigebert of Gemblours, *Chron.*, an. 1054, calls him *septimus levito*

people at Bamberg the privileges of its Church;¹ and witnessing the discomfiture of Leo's troops by the Normans.

The most important work in which he took a share before occupying the chair of Peter was the famous embassy dispatched by Leo to Constantinople, which terminated in the disastrous schism of the East and the West.²

We have already seen³ how Frederick was robbed of his treasures when he returned from the Greek capital, and how, to avoid falling into the power of the emperor, he cast off the precious robes he was accustomed to wear and became a monk at Monte Cassino. To put a greater distance between himself and his enemy, it was not long before he betook himself to the monastery which had been recently founded on the smallest of the Tremiti Islands.⁴ Taking umbrage at certain abuses he found there, he incurred the dislike of the abbot. This caused him to return to the mainland, and to seek an asylum in the monastery of St. John *de Venere* in the county of Lanciano. He did not, however, remain long there. Hearing that the abbot of Monte Cassino (Richer), returning from Ancona, whither he had been to see the Pope, was at the monastery of St. Liberator, he went to him, begged pardon of him for his restlessness, and obtained his permission to return to Monte Cassino.⁵ It must have been about the end of the year 1055 that he once again climbed the steep hill which that venerable abbey still crowns.

The death of the emperor Henry III., not many months after this (October 1056), left Frederick a freer hand, and when Pope Victor returned to Rome from Germany (April

¹ Ekkehard., *Chron.*, 1052, ap. *P. L.*, t. 154.

² *Cf. supra*, p. 149.

³ *Supra*, p. 190.

⁴ In the Adriatic, twenty-two miles north-east of Tremoli.

⁵ *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 89, 91.

1057), he went to him to obtain justice from Trasmund, count of Teate (Chieti), who, as we have seen,¹ had robbed and imprisoned him on his return from Constantinople. The brigand-noble, after having been excommunicated by the Pope, confessed his crime, and restored not only the property of the legates, but also other ill-gotten goods as well.² According to the so-called chronicle of Penna,³ however, it was only when Frederick, as Pope, led an armed force against him that the count yielded up his ill-gotten gains. It is quite possible, if the entry is correct, that Stephen X. undertook this expedition either because Trasmund did not fulfil all the promises he had made to Victor, or because he had resumed his old plundering habits.

Becomes
abbot of
Monte
Cassino.

Soon after the death of the emperor, Richerius, abbot of Monte Cassino, and Frederick's friend, died also (December 11, 1055). Thereupon most⁴ of the monks elected as his successor Peter, the dean of the monastery, an old man indeed, but one in every way worthy of the position, a man whom the emperor Henry III. had pronounced to be the most perfect monk he had ever seen.⁵ For some reason Pope Victor did not approve of this election. Perhaps he thought that Peter was too old to occupy so responsible a position in such difficult times, or perhaps he had set his mind on having another abbot. At any rate, at first with honied words, and then with sharp ones, he gave the monks to understand that they had no right to proceed to an election without consulting him,

¹ *Supra*, p. 190.

² *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 94.

³ Some fifteen miles north of Chieti in the Abruzzi. The *chronicle*, really a letter, has been published in vol. iv. (1822) of the *Archiv der Gesellschaft für altere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, iv. 130.

⁴ "Paucissimis admodum in hoc dissentientibus." *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 92.

⁵ *Ib.*, 93. "Heinricus . . . testatus est nunquam se in toto regno Monachum honestiorem eo vidisse."

and without inquiring into what might be the will of the emperor. Then, taking advantage of the fact that the monks who had not voted for Peter assured him that the election had been uncanonical, he dispatched Cardinal Humbert to Monte Cassino to inquire into the election on the spot. But the monks boldly proclaimed that, by their rule and by papal sanction, the right of election belonged to them alone, and that in the present case all the forms required by canon law had been properly complied with.

The investigation would have terminated favourably for Peter, had not some of his partisans, unknown to him, and acting with more zeal than discretion, roused the dependants of the abbey, and attempted to settle the trial by the sword. Peter felt that his cause was lost; and no sooner had he succeeded in dispersing his armed supporters than he placed his resignation in the cardinal's hands. A unanimous vote of the monks caused Cardinal Frederick to be acknowledged as his successor¹ (May 23, 1057).

Joining the Pope in Tuscany, the newly elected abbot was first made cardinal-priest of St. Chrysogonus', and then consecrated abbot by him.² He also received from Victor the privilege of wearing the sandals, gloves, and dalmatic—the usual insignia of a bishop—and of taking rank above all other abbots.³

When he returned to Rome he was escorted both to his titular church and to his residence in the monastery of St. Stephen *in Pallara*, among the ruins of the Palatine, with the customary honours (*de more cardinalium*) by a vast crowd (July 27).⁴

He went to his titular church in great state, clad in a cope (*pluvialis*) and wearing a mitre, riding on horseback,

¹ *Chron. Cas.*, ii. cc. 94, 95. Cf. *supra*, p. 199. ² Cf. *supra*, p. 204

³ *Chron. Cas.*, *ib.*, 96; Jaffé, 4368 (3312).

⁴ *Chron. Cas.*, *ib.*, 97.

attended by a body of horsemen, and accompanied by the primicerius, the schola cantorum, the regionary subdeacons, the ostiarii, and such of the magnates (*majores*) as he had invited. Boys walked in front of him, bearing palms and flowers, and, as he rode along, an acolyte among them kept continually intoning his name, to which the choir responded, "St. Peter has chosen you." When he arrived at his church, and before he dismounted, the primicerius and the choristers formed around him, and the *paraphonista* (the arch-chorister) in a loud voice intoned his name. Thrice the choir responded, "May God preserve you! Holy Mary! help you. Holy Michael! help you." When the *laudes* were finished, Frederick dismounted, and gave his hand to the paraphonista, who led him into the church. During the Mass that followed he was assisted by the primicerius.

After the sacrifice was over, he adjourned with his company to the Palatine, and there entertained them and dismissed them with largess (*presbiterium*).¹

Is elected
his suc-
cessor.

After spending a few days in procuring the ornaments required by his new dignities, he was preparing to leave the city when Boniface, bishop of Albano, brought the news of the death of Pope Victor. Thrown into consternation at this unexpected catastrophe, Frederick at once gave up all thoughts of leaving Rome for the time. He was immediately beset both by clerics and laymen anxious to know his opinion as to what was best to be done,² and as to whom he considered most fit to be Victor's successor. He suggested to them the names of five persons, among which were those of John of Velletri, after-

¹ See the *ordo* "qualiter post ordinationem cardinales vadunt ad ecclesias suas" in *Gesta Albini*, ap. *Liber Censuum*, ii. 90, ed. Fabre.

² *Chron. Cas.*, *ib.* "Consultus ab eis (Romanis) quid facto opus esset, vel quem eligere ad tantum Pontificatum deberent."

wards the antipope Benedict X., and of "Hildebrand, subdeacon of the Roman Church." But the Roman people would have none of them. Some indeed were of opinion that they should await Hildebrand's return from Tuscany, where he had been staying with the late Pope. The majority, however, thought that there was no time for delay, and that there was no candidate so likely to be able to maintain himself in his position when freely elected than Cardinal Frederick himself, the brother of the powerful Duke Godfrey.¹ To secure a free election, it was necessary to anticipate the action of the imperialists or of any powerful family at home. Consequently Frederick was taken by force from the monastery on the Palatine to the basilica of St. Peter *ad vincula*, and there he was duly elected,² and called Stephen, as his election had taken place on the feast of St. Stephen I., Pope and martyr (August 2, 1057).³ From St. Peter's he was taken in triumphal procession to be enthroned in the Lateran palace, and on the following day was consecrated "supreme and universal Pontiff," as Leo expresses it, in presence of "all the cardinals, the clergy, and the Roman people."⁴

Though the new Pope realised that the carrying out of the measures of reform to which the Papacy had committed itself would meet with much fierce opposition,⁵ he

The work
of reform.

¹ One of Frederick's first acts as Pope was still further to strengthen his brother's hands by naming him duke of Spoleto and marquis of Fermo, in succession to Pope Victor, who had held them as a personal fief from Henry III. Cf. Dupréel, *Godefroid*, p. 79.

² He was the first Pope who had been freely elected for eleven years. He was made Pope "Volente et concedente Romana ecclesia ab omni populo." *Chron. Pinnense, ubi supra*. It will be noted that the consent of the Empress Agnes was not asked nor awaited.

³ *Ib.* Cf. *Ann. Roman.*, etc.

⁴ *Chron. Cas., l.c.*

⁵ "Permittente Deo," he wrote, "malefactorum sævitiam hoc tempore adversus ovium Domini pastores, nullo resistente, efferatam attendimus." Ep. 6, ap. Robert, p. 82.

followed resolutely in the steps of his immediate predecessors. During the first four months of his reign he remained in Rome, and held several synods with a view to promoting the celibacy of the clergy and to checking marriages between near relations.¹ And when the Greek custom with regard to clerical celibacy was urged against his action, he answered that the customs of the Greek and Latin churches were different, and that the custom of the latter church was that all clerics, from the subdeacon to the bishop, should refrain from marriage.² St. Peter Damian tells us that he expelled from Rome, in order that they might do penance, even those clerics who had left their wives; for many of them only ceased to transgress the discipline of the Church in order to break many of the commandments of God. And, to serve as a warning to evil-doers, he recounts the sudden death of a priest who would not separate from his wife, and the advice which he himself gave on that occasion, viz., that no solemn rites should be offered for the repose of his soul.³

St. Peter
Damian
made a
bishop,
1058.

To help him in his arduous task, the Pope had summoned the teller of this story from his quiet Umbrian retreat at Fonte-Avellana to Rome in order to make him cardinal-bishop of Ostia. So stoutly, however, did he refuse the proffered dignity that the Pope, putting him under holy obedience, seized him by the arm and "affianced him to the Church of Ostia by forcing the ring on his finger, and the crozier into his hand."⁴ In announcing to his episcopal brethren his accession to their number, the new cardinal took occasion very bluntly to remind them of their duty.

¹ *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 97.

² Jaffé, sub. 4375 (3318).

³ *Opusc.*, 18, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145.

⁴ John, the saint's disciple, c. 14, in *Vit. Pet. Dam.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 144. Hence the saint afterwards speaks of "his persecutor, Pope Stephen, who forced the episcopate upon him." *Opusc.*, 19, *præfat.*

After bewailing the general decay of morals, he points out that in the midst of the flood of iniquity, "the holy Roman Church is the only harbour, and that it is the net of the poor fisherman which alone is able to gather together those who are boldly struggling against the angry waves, and to bring them safely to shore. . . . And since from all parts of the world crowds flock to the Lateran palace, there ought to be conspicuous there, more than in any other part, irreproachable morals, exemplary lives, and strict discipline. . . . What makes a bishop is a good life, and an unceasing effort to acquire the virtues of his state, and not turret-like headgear made of foreign skins, nor gaudy marten furs worn beneath the chin, nor jingling golden bangles, nor companies of soldiers, nor high-spirited and prancing chargers."¹

Another uncompromising monk whom Stephen advanced was Humbert, cardinal-bishop of Silva-Candida, and his colleague in the famous embassy to Constantinople regarding Michael Cerularius. He was made "librarian of the Roman Church and of the Apostolic See." His strong, and in parts unmeasured, treatise against simony² was published about this time, and may be taken as another indication of the reforming zeal which animated the breast of his patron. After going to the length of declaring null all ordinations effected by simoniacal means, Humbert asserted that, especially in Italy,³ ecclesiastical property had been

Cardinal
Humbert.

¹ "Non constat episcopatus in turrutis gebellinorum transmarinarumve ferarum pileis, non in flammantibus martorum submentalibus rosis, non in bractearum circumfluentium phaleris, non denique in glomeratis constipantium militum cuneis, neque in frementibus ac spumantia frena mandentibus equis; sed in honestate morum et sanctarum exercitatione virtutum." Ep. ii. 1, ap. *ib.*, p. 357.

² Ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

³ "Talibus utique ordinationibus cum nonnullæ provinciæ sordeant, tum præcipue Italia, in quam hujusmodi solet confluere sentina." *Ib.*, iii. 21. Cf. c. 20, and ii. cc. 35, 36.

absolutely ruined by simony ; and that, as he had seen with his own eyes, it had led even to the ploughing up for gain of the sacred enclosures of churches, to the consequent unearthing of the bones of those who had died in the Lord, and to the very basilicas themselves being used as cattle stalls.¹ As the principal cause of this detestable sin of Simon Magus, he denounced the investing by laymen with the ring and crozier of those whom, against the canons, they had chosen, or caused to be chosen, bishops or abbots. Here he laid his finger on the root of the evil, and pointed out to the Popes the main stronghold which they would have to attack. "Three books against simony" were the opening of the fierce war of investiture which was the predominant note of the Gregorian epoch.

Hildebrand
sent to
Germany.

Stephen's choice of Hildebrand for the delicate mission of announcing his election to the German court is a proof that he, equally with his predecessors, placed the fullest confidence in his judgment, and shared his views on the needs of reform, and on the means to be employed to effect it. The cardinal was also commissioned to exhort the empress-mother, Agnes, to impress upon her son to see to it that ecclesiastical benefits were bestowed for virtue and merit, and not for money.² By "the eloquence and sacred learning"³ for which he was distinguished, Hildebrand succeeded in his mission,⁴ and spent the Christmas of 1057 with the young Henry at Goslar. Two days after the feast itself he was at Pöhlde, assisting at the

¹ "Me miserum! memini frequenter me vidisse intra ipsos pavimenta quoque nobilium quondam basilicarum exarari, et seri, seu pecora stabulari." *Ib.*, ii. 36, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

² Cf. ep. 1 (ed. Robert, p. 64) with the *L. P.*, and Robert, n. 3, p. 40, and n. 3, p. 44.

³ Lambert, ad an. 1057.

⁴ *Ann. Altah. maj.*, an. 1057. "Stephanus, a Romanis subrogatus, rege ignorante postea tamen electionem ejus comprobante."

consecration of the illustrious Gundekar as bishop of Eichstätt.¹

Hildebrand had left Rome with commissions to execute in Italy and France, as well as in Germany; and on his way to the imperial court had done important work at Milan (c. August 1057). Even in Lombardy there was no place where the laws not merely of the Church but of God regarding purity were more openly set at defiance than in that great city. From its illiterate archbishop² downwards, the whole body of its clergy were stained with simony. Bonizo doubts if there were five out of a thousand not guilty of it; and, owing to the fact that most of the clergy were married, or, what was worse, lived in concubinage, and that their children followed largely the occupation of their fathers, the number of clerics in Milan was very considerable.³ And if we are to believe Landulf the elder,⁴ the

The
Patarines
of Milan.

¹ So says Gundekar himself in his *Liber Pont. Eichstetensis*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146, p. 992. "Interfuit etiam . . . dom. Hildebrandus, S. R. et apost. sedis cardinalis *subdiaconus*."

² This man, Guido by name, Bonizo (*L. V. ad amicum*, ap. Watterich, i. 197) calls "vir illiteratus, et concubinatus et absque ulla verecundia symoniacus."

³ Cf. *ib.*, pp. 198 and 199. "In tanta . . . turba clericorum vix ex mille quinque poterant inveniri." It must be borne in mind that, like most of the writers of the time on the burning questions of the day, Bonizo was not given to understate his case. In this instance, however, his assertions are corroborated by St. Peter Damian, who, after personal examination into the state of affairs at Milan, affirmed: "Vix e tanto numero quispiam promotus ad ordinem sine pretio reperitur." *Opusc.*, v., ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 92.

⁴ The most important of the contemporary historians of Milan is Arnulf, probably a cleric, whose *Historia Mediolanensis* (ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv.; *M. G. SS.*, viii.; *P. L.*, t. 147) was begun in the midst of the disturbances at Milan, viz. before 1073, and embraces the period between 925 and 1077. He declares that truth was his guide in writing, and that, while sympathising with those who were attacking simony and clerical marriage, he reprobated their methods of procedure. Cf. l. iv. c. 12.

Landulf the elder, on the other hand, was a very different writer.

contemporary historian of the city, the respectable married clergy were held in at least as much esteem as those who observed the discipline of the West in the matter of clerical continency. The unremitting efforts of the former to obtain benefices for their offspring was one of the principal causes of the simoniacal practices which were devastating the Church of Milan. As they profited pecuniarily by these breaches of law and discipline, the Lombard nobility were ardent supporters of the married clergy. But the very magnitude of the disorders provoked a reaction; and an earnest attempt at reform was initiated. At the head of this movement was a young priest, Anselm by name,¹ who belonged to a good family at Baggio near Milan, and who had been trained in learning and virtue by the famous Lanfranc at Bec. Hoping to crush the new spirit which was manifesting itself in his archiepiscopal see by removing its originator, Guido had contrived to induce the emperor and Pope Stephen to consent to Anselm's being made bishop of Lucca.² But the archbishop was no nearer the accomplishment of the end he had in view. Anselm's work was taken up by two clerics of noble birth, Ariald and Landulf,³ who, in language at times more strong than judicious, denounced the clerical vices of the city. The

He was as prolix as Arnulf was concise, and as inaccurate as the former was exact; and if Arnulf was biased in favour of the Milanese clergy, Landulf was wholly devoted to their interests. This is the unanimous verdict of his modern editors. His *Hist. Mediol.* (374-1085) may be found in the same collections as Arnulf's.

Another Landulf, the younger, de S. Paulo, who flourished about 1137, also wrote an *Historia Mediol.* (1095-1137). He was also a cleric and attached to the Pataria. His work (ap. *R. I. SS.*, v.; *M. G. SS.*, xx.; *P. L.*, t. 173) forms a reliable continuation of that of the rabid anti-papal Landulf senior.

¹ Afterwards Pope Alexander II.

² Landulf, *H. M.*, iii. 4.

³ *Ib.*, with the notes of Muratori. Hence Stephens (*Hildebrand*, p. 49) is mistaken in his description of these men. Cf. Bonizo, t. vi., *Ad vnicum*.

people, especially the poor, inflamed by their addresses, showed themselves violently hostile to the married and simoniacal clergy. Milan was soon in an uproar. From the fact that many of the reformers were dwellers in that quarter of the city—the Pataria—where old rags¹ (*patari*) were sold, they were dubbed “Patarines”² or “Ragbags” by the clergy and their aristocratic supporters. But if they called names, the people used force. They compelled many of the clergy to promise in writing to give up their wives or concubines, and seized their property.³ Thus driven to extremities, the harassed clerics appealed for protection first to the bishops of their province, and then to the Pope.⁴

Stephen wrote at once exhorting the people to keep the peace, and ordering Guido to summon a synod for the settlement of the affair. A numerous assembly of bishops accordingly met together at Fontaneto in the diocese of Novara; but, as Landulf and Ariald failed to put in an appearance, they were duly excommunicated. None of the Patarines, however, took the slightest notice of the excommunication; Landulf and Ariald became greater heroes than ever, and the nobility were thoroughly overawed by the demonstrations made by the people in their behalf. Still, as their adversaries had turned to Rome, the Patarines determined to do likewise. In company with a number of “honourable men,” Ariald presented himself before the Pope, and begged him to send legates back with

¹ Rags are to this day in Milan known as *Pataria*. Cf. Delarc, *Greg. VII.*, ii. 61 n.

² “Symoniaci . . . eis paupertatem improperantes, Paterinos, id est pannosos vocabant.” Bonizo, *l.c.*

³ Landulf, *ib.*, cc. 9 and 10; Arnulf, iii. 10, ed. *R. I. SS.*

⁴ “Clerus . . . multipliciter afflictus legatione humili conquestus est, primo comprovincialibus episcopis, deinde Romano Pontifici.” Arnulf, iii. 10.

him to reform the Church of Milan. Stephen, after a careful examination of all the circumstances, gave him a favourable hearing, and sent him home in company with such ardent champions of reform as Bishop Anselm of Lucca and Cardinal Hildebrand.¹

Guido did not await the coming of these upright and inflexible judges, but fled to the court of the emperor. How thoroughly they manifested their approval at least of the principles which animated the Patarine party may be gauged from the bitter words of Landulf. The legates, he says, "sowed broadcast ruin, discord, and dissension."² Leaving the Patarines, overjoyed at this their first victory, to propagate their ideas throughout Lombardy and to prepare for the severer struggle of 1059, Hildebrand went north to fulfil his other commissions in Germany and in France.³

Stephen
goes to
Monte
Cassino,
Nov.

Meanwhile the health of Pope Stephen was declining. Unable to bear the climate of Rome, he went among the hills to the monastery on Monte Cassino (November 1057). There, for he was still its abbot, he applied himself, not only to the correcting of certain abuses which had crept in among

¹ Arialdus "*Romanorum celeriter adeptus est gratiam.*" *Ib.*, c. 11. It is anything but true that Ariald easily won favour at Rome. Indeed, according to Landulf (iii., cc. 10 and 11), he seems to have been very severely handled by a Cardinal Dionysius, a native of Milan, who bitterly reproved him for attempting to remedy by the sword what ought to have been emended by good example. Cf. Andrew, Ariald's disciple, *in vita ejus*, ap. *Acta SS.*, Jun., v. 284, and Bonizo, *l.c.* Landulf's account of Ariald's embassy (iii. 10 and 11) is, in the main, wholly inadmissible, opposed as it is to probability, to the sequence of events, and to better authorities. Cf. Delarc, p. 63, n. 1. It would appear from Landulf (iii. 12) that St. Peter Damian was not connected with this legation of 1057.

² Landulf, *l.c.* Arnulf seems to have confused the Roman embassies to Milan of 1057 and 1059.

³ Stephen's letter (ep. 1) to Gervais of Rheims seems to indicate that Hildebrand was expected to go on to France after he had been to Germany.

Ego petrus pectoris hostiensis epi. 23

Ego Petrus pectoris hostiensis episcopus

Fe
de
abb
c

Ego qui supra Desiderius Abbas

+ Hildebrandus cardinalis subdiaconus sanctae romanae ecclesiae

Ego Yllebrandus cardinalis subdiaconus sanctae romanae ecclesiae

1. Signature of St. Peter Damian.
2. Signature of Abbot Desiderius.
3. Signature of Hildebrand.

the monks,¹ but also to negotiating with the eastern emperor with regard to the schism.

As Christmas drew near his illness increased. Thinking his end was approaching, he bade the monks elect a new abbot, and was pleased that their votes were unanimously given to his friend, the famous Desiderius. However, as he wished to keep for himself the abbatial power, and as he had determined that Desiderius was to be one of his legates to Constantinople, he told the newly elected abbot that if, on his return from the East, he found the Pope still alive, he was merely to be a titular abbot, but, under the opposite supposition, was to have the power as well as the honour attached to his title. The mission on which Desiderius was dispatched came to nothing, as the Pope had died before the delegates left Italy,² and the abbot-elect was recalled to rule his monastery.

At length (February 10), feeling himself somewhat improved in health, and anxious to be back in Rome to prepare for the great council he had determined to hold after Easter,³ Stephen returned to the city. One of the first acts which he accomplished on his return showed why he had determined to remain abbot of Monte Cassino, and what large designs he had been maturing. Whilst at the great monastery, his ears had been filled with stories of the dreadful deeds of the Normans, and, as Leo IX. had done, he came to the conclusion that they

¹ The holding of private property is the abuse specially mentioned. *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 17. He also forbade the monks to use the Ambrosian chant, which, with all its freshness and vigour, lacked the dignity and solemnity of the Gregorian. Hence the Ambrosian melodies have been compared to a primeval forest, the luxuriant growth of which shows the fertility of its virgin soil; whilst the Gregorian are said to evince a superior culture and the impress of the genius which long ruled the world. Cf. *Dict. d'archéol. chrét.*, sub "Ambrosien" (chant), p. 1373, Cabrol, Paris, 1904.

² *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 9.

³ Ep. 1, sub fin.

Desiderius
elected
abbot.

Stephen
returns to
Rome,
1058.

must be expelled from Italy. But the history of his predecessor's failure had taught him that little help was to be hoped for from Germany, and from even a strong emperor. Still less could be expected from a child. He would then bestow the imperial crown on his powerful brother, Duke Godfrey of Lorraine and Tuscany, and raise money for the war by borrowing the treasures of Monte Cassino. So at least ran a wild story.¹ At any rate, he had not been long back in Rome before he sent word to the provost of the monastery to bring to him with all possible speed and secrecy its gold and silver, promising in a short time to return a far larger sum. Obedient, but sorrowful, the monks laid their treasure at the feet of the Pope. Touched at the sight of their grief, pleased at the sight of their prompt obedience, and, it may be, doubtful of the justice of what he had thought of doing, he bade them return home with their property, only keeping for himself a single statue (*icona*) out of the presents he had himself brought from Constantinople.²

Stephen on
the election
of his suc-
cessor.

Unfortunately, his residence at Monte Cassino had not effected any material improvement in his health. He felt that the cold hand of death was upon him, and, with statesmanlike instinct, that trouble was in store for the Papacy. But he was wise enough to devise a remedy for the evil he had wit enough to foresee. He called the Roman clergy and people together, and adjured them not to proceed to the election of a new Pope before the return

¹ "Disponebat autem fratri suo Duci Gotfrido apud Tuscam in colloquium jungi, eique, *ut ferebatur*, imperialem coronam largiri; demum vero ad Normannos Italia expellendos, qui maximo illi odio erant, una cum eo reverti." *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 99. Aimé (iii. 47), probably much nearer the truth, says nothing about the imperial crown, but states that the Pope wanted the treasure of Monte Cassino to raise an army against the Normans. "Pour cest trésor voloit scomovère son frère . . . et autre grant home à destruire li Normant?"

² *Chron. Cas.*, *ib.*

of the subdeacon Hildebrand, should his own death supervene in the meantime. The succession was to be regulated by his advice. "For I know that after my death there will arise among you men, self-seekers, who will endeavour to obtain possession of the Apostolic See, not in accordance with canon law, but by force."¹

After he had obtained a promise from all present that, in any papal election which might take place, the canons should be faithfully observed, Stephen once again left Rome and set out for Tuscany (March 1058). Whether he went thither for his health's sake, or to meet his brother, or for some other purpose, is uncertain. Anxious to have his last hours comforted by the presence of a saint, he sent word to John Gualbert to come from his monastery at Vallombrosa and meet him. But John was himself too ill to be able to obey the Pope's summons.²

However, if he could not secure the services of one saint, he was fortunate enough to obtain those of another. His deathbed at Florence was attended by St. Hugh, the great abbot of Cluny,³ a man whom Stephen had ever esteemed and loved, and of whom he used to say that the devil went out when Hugh came in, and returned

¹ *Chron. Cas.*, ii. c. 100; Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vi.; Damian, ep. iii. 4. The *L. P.*, under Benedict X., has preserved a confused account of this incident.

² Robert, p. 50.

³ See the various *Lives* of the saint, ap. *P. L.*, t. 159; e.g., the *Life* by Hildebert of Le Mans, c. 2. At the request of Hugh, Stephen issued a very important bull (March 6, 1058, ep. 10) confirming Cluny in its possessions. He therein styles that monastery "gallicanis, germanicis, italicis, et plane cunctis latinæ linguæ monasteriis forma sanctitatis atque speculum"; just as he himself is the head of all the bishops of the whole Church: "Deo auctore, in specula sanctæ et universalis ecclesiæ eminentiores conspulatoribus nostris consistimus, ut saluti et quieti universorum sollicitius invigilemus." In a letter to the monks of Cluny, he tells them that he is retaining his dear friend, the abbot Hugh, till the synod which he had decided to hold after Easter. Ep. 12 (Robert), 7 (*P. L.*). Cf. L'Huillier, *Vie de S. Hugues*, p. 87 ff.

He goes
into
Tuscany.

Death of
the Pope,
1058.

when the worthy abbot departed. Solaced by the saint, and surrounded, as he had always been in life, by several of his brethren from Monte Cassino, the Pope had himself laid out in sackcloth and ashes, and, after receiving the last rites of the Church (*susceptis vitalibus sacratis*), expired in the abbot's arms. He breathed his last on March 29, 1058.¹ He was buried in the Church of S. Reparata, which was erected in the seventh century on the site of the Church of S. Salvatore, and was afterwards demolished (in the beginning of the fourteenth century) to make way for the present glorious Duomo, or Cathedral of S. Maria del Fiore. Whilst excavations were being made (August 1357) in the course of the erection of the existing church, we are assured by the Florentine historian Matteo Villani that there was found by the side of the altar of St. Zenobio, the patron saint of Florence, the tomb of Pope Stephen. The inscription on it made identification easy. On the breast of the corpse was found the papal brooch adorned with gems and with a golden clasp (*collo stile dell' oro*); on its head was a mitre, and there was a ring on its finger. "The relics were all entrusted to the Calonaci to await honourable burial."² Whether they ever obtained it, however, does not seem to be known.

The epitaph³ which, according to Paccinelli in his history of the Abbey of Florence, used to be in the possession of Christina of Lorraine, grand-duchess of Tuscany, is a comparatively modern and insipid production in the renaissance style. It simply says, in many words, that Duke Godfrey in tears joins his tribute of affection to his brother with that of others, and that the monks of the Abbey of Florence do likewise.

¹ *Chron. Cas.*, *l.c.*

² *Istorie*, vii. 91, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xiv.

³ Ap. Robert, p. 52; Delarc, p. 73.

D. O. M.

Stephano Papæ IX., olim Juniano Friderico, Gozelonis Lotharingiæ ducis filio, Apostolicæ sedis cancellario, monacho et abbati Casinensi, Cardinali, tit. S. Chrysogoni, Pontifici optimo, maximo, pio, felici, sanctitate et miraculorum gloria illustri, Gothifredus, Hetruscorum dux, ut defuncto fratri, domi suæ et inter proprios amplexus quæ potest caritatis suæ vices rependat, non sine lacrimis parentat. Monachi abbatiæ Florentinæ in ædibus divi Joannis Baptistæ offerunt, et justa solvunt IV. Kalend. April. MLVIII.

In conclusion, we may regret with Lambert of Hersfeld that Stephen's early death disappointed those who had hoped great things from his pontificate, inasmuch as "for many years back no one had assumed the government of the Roman Church with greater satisfaction to all men, and amid more universal expectation of a glorious reign."¹ Esteemed by all the people in life, he was regarded by them as a miracle-worker in death.²

¹ *Annal.*, an. 1057.

² *Ib.* "Indicio (of Stephen's having gone to heaven) sunt signa et prodigia, quibus sepulchrum ejus in eadem civitate usque hodie divinitus illustratur." The *Chron. Cas.*, *l.c.*, speaks to the same effect. The *Annales Romani* (ap. *L. P.*, ii. 334) have a wild story regarding the death of Stephen. They pretend that it was the Romans who seized the treasure he had brought from Constantinople; and that, when in disgust he left the city, they sent Bracutus of Trastevere in pursuit of him. He died of the poison which their emissary administered to him. As this Bracutus is no doubt the eloquent tribune, Gerard Bracutus, who was the partisan of Gregory VII. (*cf.* Beno, *l.c.*, and c. 10, and Benzo, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. 612), he has been deliberately calumniated by that worthless couple, Beno and Benzo, and by the imperialist author of the annals.

NICHOLAS II.

A.D. 1059-1061.

Sources.—Some forty of his privileges and letters are to be found, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143. The *Catalogue* is fuller than usual on the anti-pope Benedict X.

Works.—Delarc, *Grégoire VII.*, vol. ii. 75 ff. The facts of the life of Nicholas II. are neatly set forth by Clavel, *Le Pape Nicolas II.*, Lyon, 1906. In addition to the other works on the Normans in south Italy already quoted, we may cite *Recherches sur les monuments et l'hist. des Normands et de la Maison de la Souabe dans l'Italie méridionale*, by A. Huillard-Bréholles, Paris, 1844. It is a very awkward book to handle, as it is in atlas folio.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.

Isaac Comnenus, 1057-1059.

Constantine X., Ducas, 1059-1067.

KINGS OF FRANCE.

Henry I., 1033-1060.

Philip I., 1060-1108.

The counts
of Tuscu-
lum again
to the fore,
1058.

NO sooner did the news of the death of Stephen X. (March 29) reach Rome, than that lawless party of the Roman barons, whose interference in papal elections had in the past epoch brought such disgrace upon the Papacy, made a last effort to keep their usurped power. Headed by Gregory de Alberico,¹ count of Tusculum, Gerard or Girard,

¹ "Gregorius . . . sociato sibi Girardo . . . et Romanorum potentium aliquot." *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 91 (99). "Romæ capitanei et maxime Gregorius Tusculanus . . . assumentes tyrannidem quemdam veli-

count of Galeria, and the sons of Crescentius of Monticelli,¹ an armed band took possession of the city; and, at night, amidst scenes of the wildest disorder,² despite the canons, the promises made to the late Pope, and the protests and anathemas of the cardinals,³ they elected John, bishop of Velletri, as the successor of St. Peter (April 5). By scattering broadcast the money which they had seized in the treasury of St. Peter's, the nobles succeeded in getting their puppet acknowledged by a number of the Romans.⁴ They could not, however, get a bishop to enthrone him in the prescribed manner. St. Peter Damian, whose office it was, as bishop of Ostia, to perform that ceremony, had fled with the other bishops; so that they were compelled to have the function carried out by an illiterate priest of the Church of Ostia.⁵

The bishop who had after such a fashion been proclaimed Pope was a Roman of the region of St. Mary Major's,⁶ and the son of one Guido. As he had been named by Cardinal Frederick as a possible candidate for the Papacy, he can

Benedict
X.

ternensem episcopum cardinalem . . . ad papalem evehunt dignitatem." Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, ap. Watterich, i. 207. Cf. *Cod. Vat. A.*, ap. *ib.* For a notice of *Cod. Vat. A.*, see under *Sources* for Alexander II.

¹ Near Tivoli.

² "Nocturno tempore cum armatorum turbis undique tumultuantibus atque furentibus." *Chron. Cas.*, *l.c.* Cf. St. Peter Dam., ep. iii. 4.

³ "Nobis *omnibus* . . . cardinalibus episcopis reclamantibus, obsistentibus et terribiliter anathematizantibus." Damian, *ib.* "Invitis episcopis et cardinalibus." *Cod. Vat.*, *l.c.*

⁴ "Dehinc ad marsupiorum patrocina funesta concurrat, pecunia per regiones andronas vel angiportus in populos erogetur," etc. Damian, *l.c.* Even the *Annales Romani* write: "Data pecunia, *maxima* pars (this is perhaps doubtful) de Romanorum populo ei fidelitatem fecerunt."

⁵ "Presbyter Ostiensis ecclesiæ, qui utinam syllabatim nosset vel unam paginam rite percurrere, ut eum ad Apostolatus culmen proveheret . . . violenter attractus est." Damian, *ib.* Cf. *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 9, al. 10.

⁶ *Ann. Rom.*

scarcely have been the fool¹ depicted by St. Peter Damian in the indignant letter which narrates the circumstances of his elevation. If he had no hand in bringing about his selection by the Tusculan faction, nay, if it was against his will that he was promoted by it,² he sinned, as St. Peter Damian pointed out, by striving to maintain himself in a position in which he had been illegally placed.

Reaction
in Rome.

Fortunately the day of the counts of Tusculum was over. They had to reckon not only with Hildebrand outside the city, but with a strong opposition in Rome itself, especially in the Trastevere. There it was headed by a noble of the name of Leo, the son of Benedict known as "the Christian,"³ who seems to have been a convert from Judaism, and to have been the founder of the house of Pierleoni, which was to become so famous in the beginning of the following century.

Hildebrand
returns to
Italy, 1058.

But the more formidable opponent of baronial anarchy and insolence was Hildebrand. When he returned to Italy from his triple embassy, he was greeted with the sad news that the armed violence of the counts of Tusculum had gone far to undo the work of reform he had so well inaugurated. But the sword had no terrors for Hildebrand. He halted at Florence, and at once began to take steps to foil the blustering doings of the party of misrule. He put himself

¹ "Est homo stolidus, deses ac nullius ingenii." Damian, *l.c.* According to the Catalogue, however, the Romans of his party at any rate declared that he was "bonus, sapiens, humilis, castus," etc.

² Such was his own assertion, and such is admitted by St. Peter Damian (*l.c.*). Cf. *Annales Rom.*

³ *Ann. Rom.*, ap. Duchesne. As edited by Watterich, the annals by mistake omit the name Leo. His name appears along with that of Pope Nicholas in a document bearing the date April 28, 1060. Cf. *Regest. Farfa*, 935, ap. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 125. Cf. Benzo, ii. 3, who mentions as attached to Hildebrand: "Cum Leone procedenti de judaica congregatione, simulque cum Cencio Frajapane, atque Brachiuto Johanne."

in communication with those in Rome who were anxious for the reform of Church and State; and, if we are to believe the *Roman Annals*,¹ sent money to Leo the son of Benedict. Encouraged by his letters, strong opposition was offered by them to the doings of the Tusculan counts and their creature, and Hildebrand was assured that what he did would meet with their consent.²

Then, securing a promise of armed support from Duke Godfrey,³ he designated as Pope, Gerard, bishop of Florence.⁴ He was selected not only on account of his worth, but also, no doubt, because it was thought he would not be unacceptable to the German Court, as he had been nominated to his bishopric by the emperor Henry III. For Hildebrand had resolved to endeavour to secure the adhesion of the empress-regent to his plans. He could not look to her for troops, seeing that it was as much as she could do to maintain her own authority against disaffected

Election of Gerard.

¹ The account of the events which followed the death of Stephen given by these barbarous annals is very inaccurate. Hildebrand "misit pecuniam a Leoni de Benedicto Christiano et ceteri qui erant de ejus conjuratione; et divisus est Romanum populum, et ceperunt inter se acriter pugnare." Cf. Paul Bernried, *in vit. Greg. VII.*, c. 21, and the other authorities cited below.

² "Suis litteris super hoc Romanorum meliores conveniens eorumque ad omnia quæ vellet consensum recipiens, mox annitente Gotfrido duce Girardum . . . in papam Romanum elegit." *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 13 (12). The authority of the Chronicle of Leo is as superior to that of the Annals as is its Latinity.

³ It is certain that Godfrey and Hildebrand were together at Chiusi on June 15. Delarc, ii. 77.

⁴ St. Peter Damian epigrammatically writes that "little Florence owes a debt to great Rome," and would have the city "which was the tomb of one Pope be the womb of another."

"Parva virum magnæ debet Florentia Romæ,
Quæ tenet extinctum, cogatur reddere vivum.
Sic nova Bethlæis lux mundo fluxit ab oris."

Ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 967.

Some versions have *viduæ* for *magnæ* in the first line.

Saxons and ambitious nobles. But he realised that her consent to his wishes would not merely avoid complications in the future, but help to the general acceptance of his candidate. It is far from unlikely that he went on this mission himself.¹ At any rate a number of Romans approached the empress on the matter, and obtained from her a commission to Wibert, the imperial chancellor of Italy, and to Duke Godfrey to co-operate with Hildebrand in securing the appointment of the bishop of Florence.² On the return of the embassy, the cardinals who had escaped from Rome met together at Siena, probably in December, and duly elected the Burgundian Gerard.³

He enters
Rome, Jan.
1059.

In the first month of the following year Wibert and Godfrey assembled their forces at Sutri. After holding a council there, in which the usurper Benedict was condemned,⁴ Gerard and his supporters advanced on Rome. Their friends in the Trastevere forthwith admitted them into that part of the city. After some fighting Gerard became master of Rome,⁵ and Benedict, henceforth contemptuously dubbed Mincius,⁶ fled to Passarano, and placed himself under the protection of Regem or Regetellus, the son of Crescentius.⁷

¹ Cf. *Annales Rom.*

² "Quod (the secret consecration of another after the death of Stephen) cum principibus non placeret. . . Augustam ad regem misere legatum, petentes apostolicæ sedi præferri episcopum Florentinum." *Ann. Altahenses maj.*, an. 1058. Cf. Lambert., an. 1059.

³ Bonizo, *Cod. Vat. A.*; and Benzo, vii. 2, etc. Jaffé, sub 1058. Clavel has shown good reason to believe that Gerard belonged to the noble family of Chevron, which had its seat at Chevron, not far from Albertville in the diocese of Tarentaise in Savoy (chap. i.), and that he was a canon of San Miniato in Monte, which overlooks Florence (p. 12). He became bishop of Florence in 1046, and showed himself a patron of its monasteries.

⁴ Bonizo, and *Cod. A.*

⁵ *Ann. Rom.*; *Chron. Cas.*, l. iii., etc.

⁶ "A silly fellow," like the Italian *minchione*.

⁷ *Ann. Rom.* Cf. Gregorovius, *l.c.*, p. 114, n. 3.

After the prefect Peter had been replaced by John Tiniosus, one of Hildebrand's Trasteverine followers, a solemn assembly of the people was held at the Lateran, and the circumstances of Benedict's election thoroughly inquired into. Some of those who were interrogated at once acknowledged that the election of Benedict was a crime, but declared that it had been effected despite them; others, however, maintained that, as Benedict was a wise and good man, they had done well in electing him. However, the greater part both of the clergy and the laity were of the same mind as the archdeacon, and accordingly deposed Benedict, and elected Gerard.¹

Is there
elected
Pope, Jan.
1059.

Thus duly "chosen by the Roman clergy and people,"² the Burgundian bishop, learned, bright, pure, and charitable,³ was solemnly enthroned in St. Peter's as Nicholas II., and received from his subjects the usual oath of fidelity. But some, we are told,⁴ took it holding up their left hands; for, they said, they had already sworn to Benedict with their right. The same authority insinuates that all this was not accomplished without bribery and the personal solicitations of the Pope.

Is solemnly
enthroned,
Jan. 24,
1059.

The position of Nicholas, however, was anything but safe. Benedict had left Passarano, and had betaken himself to the strong castle of Count Gerard of Galeria. It was

Norman
Alliance.

¹ The Catalogue. "*Major pars clericorum et laicorum cum archidiacono (i.e., Hildebrand, up to this time really only a subdeacon) erat.*" Cf. *supra*, p. 47.

² *Chron. Cas., l.c.*; Bonizo, etc.

³ Damian, Ep. iii. 4.

⁴ *Ann. Rom.*; Benzo, l. vii., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. p. 672, of course, says the same. He adds that Hildebrand crowned "his idol with a royal diadem—"regali corona suum coronavit hydolum. . . . Legebatur autem in inferiori circulo ejusdem serti ita: Corona regni de manu Dei. In altero vero sic: Diadema imperii de manu Petri." The last-named author thus coarsely expresses the supposed dependence of the Pope on Hildebrand: "De cetero pascebat suum Nicholaum Prandellus (Hildebrand) in Lateranensi palacio quasi asinum in stabulo."

necessary to have him dislodged, and Hildebrand could not think of any who were at once able and willing to effect that task but the Normans. They had ever shown themselves wishful to approach the Papacy. The time had come, then, to reverse the policy of Leo IX., and to make the best of the Norman occupation of south Italy, which was now an accomplished fact. After the battle of Civitella,¹ the Norman hold of the southern portion of the Italian peninsula had rapidly tightened. Encouraged by his successes against the town, Richard of Aversa assumed the title of Prince of Capua in 1058, though he did not obtain full and final control over it till the middle of 1062. It was to him that Hildebrand, "by command of Pope Nicholas," betook himself in the first instance. His mission was crowned with complete success. Richard promised fealty to the Pope and to the Roman Church, and dispatched three hundred men with Hildebrand to seize the castle of Galeria.² The place, however, was strong, so that after ravaging the district the Normans returned without effecting its reduction. This was in the spring of 1059. The Norman alliance had made a beginning, and was quickly to be extended.

Desiderius
of Monte
Cassino.

One of the agents who helped to strengthen the good understanding between the Papacy and the Normans was Desiderius, whom we have seen made honorary abbot of Monte Cassino by Stephen X. Prevented by bad weather from sailing to Constantinople for the purpose of carrying out the commission entrusted to him by that Pope, he had

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 125.

² *Ann. Rom.*, "Tunc Ildibrandus . . . per jussionem Nykolay pontifici perrexit . . . ad Riczardum Agarenorum (Normans) comitem . . . et ille fecit fidelitatem R. ecclesiæ et Nicolao pontifice." When the imperialist author adds that Hildebrand "ordained him prince," he can scarcely mean more than that he practically acknowledged his new title.

had to throw himself upon the generosity of the Norman Guiscard in order to secure a safe return to his abbey when Stephen died.¹ He was fortunate enough to find favour in the eyes of the fierce Norman, who assisted him to reach Monte Cassino in safety, and ever remained deeply attached to him. Duly installed as its abbot on April 18, 1058, it was not, however, till about a year later that Desiderius was consecrated by Pope Nicholas at Osimo (March 7), after he had been ordained cardinal-priest on the preceding day. And, in a bull in favour of Monte Cassino which he praises as the model of monasteries and as allied to the Holy See, Nicholas bestowed on Desiderius, but for his own lifetime only, jurisdiction over all the monks in Campania, and in the Principality of Benevento, and in Apulia and Calabria. With the aid of the local bishops he was commissioned to restore discipline, which, in some monasteries, was relaxed.² Such in south Italy was the position of the man whose high intelligence and gentleness of character was to make him the acceptable intermediary between the Papacy and the redoubtable Robert Guiscard.

Whilst Nicholas was utilising the good understanding which existed between Desiderius and the Normans to effect reforms in the South, he was, about the same time, employing the zeal of St. Peter Damian³ in the North to continue the good work commenced by Hildebrand in Milan. It was a deputation of its citizens that had moved him to send his legates there.⁴ To the fiery saint he joined

St. Peter
Damian in
Milan, c.
March
1059.

¹ *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 10.

² Ep. 3. "Illum (M. Cassino) cæteris præferendum non ambigimus quem monasticæ normæ constat esse principale gymnasium, et sanctæ R. et Ap. sedi contiguum." Cf. *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 13.

³ His *Opusc.* 17, addressed to Nicholas, is another proof of his outspoken and uncompromising denunciation of clerical concubinage.

⁴ So we are assured not only by Bonizo (*Ad amicum*, vi.), but also by Archbishop Guido himself. "Quibusdam ex nostris sedem apostolicam adeuntibus," ap. Damian., *Opusc.*, v., p. 5.

the milder Anselm da Baggio, or Badagio, bishop of Lucca, and destined to be Alexander II. But this second papal mission was not to be accomplished as quietly as the first. The simoniacal clergy had not been idle in the meantime. They had organised a party in opposition to that of the Patarines. The legates were received, indeed, with the honour which was due to representatives of the Holy See¹; but no sooner did they proceed to deal in synod with the matter which had brought them to the city, than there arose among the people a regular tumult, organised by the clergy in opposition.² This rapidly increased in intensity when Archbishop Guido was seen to be seated on the left of St. Peter Damian, while Anselm was on his right. Many went about shouting that the Church of St. Ambrose ought not to be subject to the jurisdiction of Rome, and that the Roman See had no right to act as judge within that of Milan. The people crowded towards the episcopal palace, where the synod was assembled; they made the whole city reverberate with the harsh clanging of its bells, and threatened Damian with death. Quite unmoved, however, he arose and calmly addressed the angry mob.

What province, he asked them, was outside of the rule of him who had the keys of the gates of heaven itself. Patriarchs and bishops, emperors and kings, have been made by man, but the Roman Church was founded through Peter by Christ Himself. Milan, he reminded them, had received its first apostles from Rome, and their great patron St. Ambrose had ever acknowledged its pre-eminence. "Search," said he in conclusion, "your own records, and if you do not find there recorded what I have stated, you may account me a liar. But if you discover that I have

¹ "Nobis digna sedis apostolicæ veneratione receptis," says Damian, whose *Opusc.* 5 is an account of this embassy.

² "Factione clericorum repente in populo murmur exoritur." *Opusc.* 5.

spoken what is true, then resist not the truth, assail not your mother, but be ever ready gladly to receive the solid food of heavenly doctrine from the one from whom you first drew the milk of apostolic faith."

Overcome by the character and eloquence of Damian, the people were not only quietened, but were moved to promise the saint to do whatever he should require of them. "Then," moralises the legate, "I saw plainly how all-important it was in ecclesiastical cases to understand the prerogatives (*privilegium*) of the Roman Church."¹

He insisted in the first instance that the archbishop and the principal clergy should sign a declaration to the effect that in future holy orders, ecclesiastical benefices, etc., should be bestowed freely, and that the Western discipline with regard to clerical continency should be strictly upheld. He obtained a similar oath from the majority of the people.² Then he imposed suitable penances in the old canonical style³ on the various delinquents, which they were allowed to redeem by the payment of a fixed sum of money, or, in other cases, by the recitation of prescribed prayers, or the performance of certain works of charity. With all this, however, it will not surprise any who know the world that evils which had struck deep and wide roots were not eradicated by one effort even of a saint.

Soon after the mission of St. Peter Damian to Milan, there met in Rome a synod of one hundred and thirteen

Lateran Council,
April 13,
1059.

¹ "Tunc nimirum liquido persensi, in ecclesiasticis quantum Romanæ ecclesiæ nosse privilegium valeat." *Ib.*, p. 92.

² "Idipsum jusjurandum contra Simoniacos et Nicolaitas permaxima pars populi non modo civilis, sed et suburbani jam dederat, quorum . . . multitudo millenarium, ut fertur, numerum excedebat." *Ib.*, p. 97. This passage is useful for forming an estimate of the population of Milan at this period.

³ On the archbishop, *e.g.*, a penance of a hundred years was imposed. "Redemptionemque ejus taxatam per unumquemque annum pecuniæ quantitate præfixit." *Ib.*

bishops, which was destined to exercise a lasting influence on the history of the Papacy. The chief business which occupied the attention of the assembly was the formulating of legislation calculated to prevent the repetition of such elections as that of Benedict X., and to affirm the lawfulness of that of Nicholas. Unfortunately, the struggle between the Popes and the emperors, which occupied no little portion of this period, caused the wording of the principal decree propagated by the council to be afterwards tampered with.¹ Such a version of it will be given here as seems best supported by other documents of acknowledged authenticity which bear upon it.

The new
decree on
papal elec-
tions.

Besides issuing decrees against simony and clerical and lay incontinency, the council ordained "that, on the death of the Pontiff of this universal Roman Church, (1) the cardinal-bishops² shall together and with the greatest care consider who is to be his successor; (2) that they shall then attach to themselves the cardinals of the other orders (*clericos cardinales*); (3) and that the rest of the clergy and the laity shall next express their adhesion to the new election. To put down all attempt at venality, let the religious men (*religiosi viri*), the clergy, *i.e.*, the cardinals, take the lead in the election of the new Pope, and let the

¹ Hence St. Anselm, the successor of Pope Alexander II. in the See of Lucca, notes in his *Libri duo contra Guibertum antipapam*, l. ii. p. 464, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149., "Præfatus Wibertus aut sui, ut suæ parti favorem ascriberent, quædam in eodem decreto addendo, quædam mutando, ita illud reddiderunt a se dissidens, ut aut pauca aut nulla exemplaria sibi concordantia valeant inveniri." Quite a considerable number of treatises have been written on this decree. The result of the controversy on the subject would seem to be that no text which has reached us is altogether free from the hand of the forger.

² That the reading of cardinal-bishops is the correct one is clear from epp. 8 and 9 of Pope Nicholas, from his words at the synod of 1061, and from the words of Damian to Cadalous, the antipope. "Quid tibi cardinalibus videtur episcopis? qui videlicet et romanum pontificem principaliter eligunt." Ep. i. 20., p. 238. Cf. p. 243.

others follow them. If the ranks of the (Roman) Church can show a suitable candidate, let him be elected; but, if not, let one be taken from another church—saving the honour and respect due to our most beloved son Henry, now king, and one day, by the blessing of God, it is to be hoped, emperor, according as, by the mediation of his envoy, Wibert or Guibert, chancellor of Lombardy, we have granted to him, and to such of his successors as shall have individually obtained this privilege from the Apostolic See.¹

And if the power of the wicked is such that a proper and gratuitous election cannot be made in Rome, let the cardinal-bishops, along with the pious clergy (*cum religiosis clericis*), and with the Catholic laity, even if few in number, have the right of electing the Pontiff of the Apostolic See where they shall think best. And when the election has once been made, should war or the malice of the wicked prevent the enthronisation of the newly elect, let him, as true Pope, have authority to rule the Roman Church. If, despite these decrees, anyone shall have been elected or enthroned by sedition, or by any other means, let him be regarded not as Pope, but as Satan, and let him be degraded from the position he held before such election; and let his aiders and abettors be punished in the same way. In fine, such as should dare to set at naught these decrees were laid under the most dreadful anathemas.²

Although this new legislation on papal elections did not

¹ The clause about the rights of the emperor is not found in the same place in all the texts, but is no doubt genuine, as it is found somewhere in all of them, and is practically admitted by Damian, *Opusc.*, iv. ; *Discept. synod.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 71 ; and St. Anselm of Lucca, *Contra Guibertum*, l. ii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 463.

² For the full text of this important decree, cf. Jaffé, sub 4398, who notes that Henry's partisans have falsified the texts given in *M. G. LL.*, ii. pt. ii. p. 177 ; Watterich, i. p. 229, etc. In *Deusdedit*, *Collect. Can.*, i. cc. 137, 138, p. 101, ed. Martinucci, it runs thus : " Si quis Apostolicæ Sedi sine concordia et canonica electione Cardinalium ejusdem, ac

aim at securing absolute freedom of choice, as it allowed the emperor some undefined right of interference, it was a great stride in that direction. It took initiative in the matter out of the hands of emperor, noble, or populace, and rested it finally in the hands of a special section of the Roman clergy, viz. the cardinals, especially the cardinal-bishops, and required that their choice should be simply ratified by the rest of the Romans, cleric and lay.

But it must be borne in mind that this new decree, aimed primarily against the unruly Roman nobility, only made applicable to the Roman See the procedure in episcopal elections then in force in every other see. The early method of election "by clergy and people" had led to such disorders that, outside Rome, it had long been abolished, and the right of election had been vested in the clergy. In order, then, to do away with the tumultuous elections caused by the Roman nobles, this decree committed all future papal elections mainly to the clergy. It was not, however, till our own day, after the election of our present glorious Pontiff, Pius X., that any interference whatsoever of the secular power in the election of a Pope was finally forbidden.

Notice of the work of this synod, which the bishops of the conciliabulum of Worms (January 1076) assign, no

deinde sequentium clericorum religiosorum intronizatur, non Papa, vel Apostolicus, sed apostaticus habeatur." . . . "*Si quis pecunia vel gratia humana aut populari seu militari tumultu, sine concordia et canonica electione cardinalium, et sequentium religiosorum clericorum fuerit Apostolicæ sedi inthronizatus, nec Apostolicus sed apostaticus habeatur. Liceatque Cardinalibus cum Deum timentibus clericis et laicis invasorem etiam anathemate, et humano auxilio et studio a sede apostolica pellere, et quem dignum judicaverint, reponere. Quod si hoc intra Urbem perficere nequiverint, auctoritate apostolica extra Urbem congregati, in loco qui (=cui) eis placuerit electionem faciant, concessa electo auctoritate regendi et disponendi res in utilitatem ecclesiæ S. R., juxta qualitatem temporis quasi jam inthronizatus sit.*" Deusdedit is quoting from the letters of Nicholas himself.

doubt correctly, to the promptings of Hildebrand,¹ was sent by Nicholas to the bishops of Gaul, and of Amalfi, as well as to the clergy of the Catholic world in general.²

Besides endeavouring to promote the canonical or community life among the secular clergy,³ the council dealt with the heresy of Berengarius. Since his condemnation at Tours in 1054 he had not ceased to propagate his peculiar views. At length (1059), pressed by Hildebrand, he set out for Rome to lay his teaching before the Pope.⁴ Because Hildebrand had been considerate towards him, he

Berengarius of
Tours,
1059.

¹ Jaffé, *Monumenta Bamberg.*, 105. They say to Gregory VII. that under Nicholas it was decreed: "ut nullus umquam papa fieret nisi per electionem cardinalium et approbationem populi et per consensum et auctoritatem regis. Atque hujus consilii seu decreti tu ipse auctor et persuasor subscriptorque fuisti." Quoting from "an ancient codex," Baronius (*Annal.*, an. 1057, n. 21) informs us that about this period the constitution of the Roman Church was as follows. Seven suburbicarian (or collateral) cardinal-bishops were attached to the Church of the Lateran. Except the Pope, they were the only ones privileged to say Mass on the altar of Our Saviour. Their sees were Ostia, Porto, St. Rufina or Silva Candida, Albano, Sabina, Præneste, and Tusculum. Twenty-eight cardinal-priests were equally divided between the other four *patriarchal* churches of St. Mary Major, St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Lawrence outside-the-walls. There were eighteen cardinal-deacons, six called Palatini, and twelve Regionarii. Of the twenty-one subdeacons, seven were Palatini, seven Regionarii, and seven composed the Schola Cantorum.

Subject directly to the Pope as metropolitan were sixty-two Italian bishops who were the ones summoned to attend the ordinary papal synods. There were twenty-two abbeys in the city. Cf. *Gesta Albini* (published 1184), ap. *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, ii. p. 92; and, on the Lateran Church, cf. St. Peter Damian, ep. ii. 1.

² Epp. 7, 8, 9. The co-operation of the emperor in the election of the Pope is not mentioned by Nicholas, nor by Deusdedit (see *supra*, p. 237, n. 2), who has evidently drawn his text of the decree from epp. 8 and 9 of the Pope.

³ Cf. ep. 7 *init.* See Hildebrand's speech on this subject in Delarc, ii. 111, quoting from the *Annales O. S. B.* of Mabillon, t. iv., p. 585. Cf. Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vi. 358.

⁴ Cf. his *De sacra cæna*, ed. Vischer, p. 72, and Mansi, *Concil.*, xix. p. 758. On the previous career of Berengarius, see *supra*, p. 89 ff.

affected to believe that the great cardinal was in sympathy with his doctrines. He accordingly induced his patron, Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou (1040–60), and son of the dreaded Fulk Nerra, to write to Hildebrand and induce him to defend the assertion that the bread remains on the altar after the consecration.¹ When he arrived in Rome, and he was called upon himself to unfold what he had to say on this proposition, he would not speak, either because, according to his own version,² he was frightened by the threat of death, or because, as Lanfranc asserted, he had no arguments to adduce.³

His teaching was therefore condemned; and he had both to burn his own books and to accept a profession of faith touching the Holy Eucharist⁴ drawn up by Cardinal Humbert. The main contention of Berengarius was that substance and its appearances or accidents are absolutely inseparable, and that, consequently, where there are the external resemblances of bread, there bread must be. Hence his teaching (if it be supposed that at this period at any rate he believed in the Real Presence) was now equivalent to the *impanation* or *companation* theory of Martin Luther. With a view to compelling Berengarius to show his true colours, and to preventing him from continuing his tergiversations, Humbert undoubtedly used terms which modern Catholic theologians would not employ; but which, due regard being had to the doctrines of Berengarius, were well calculated to bring out clearly the teaching of the Church. "The unworthy deacon of the Church of St. Maurice at Angers," as he called himself, accordingly

¹ Ap. Sudendorf, *Berengarius*, p. 215, Hamburg, 1850. Gregory's favourite saying (Romam . . . fide atque armis semper . . . invictam) is here noticed, as also his pre-eminent position in the Roman Church: "te Deus apud apostolicam sedem pre ceteris eminere voluit."

² *De sacra cœna*, l.c., p. 73.

³ *De corpore*, pp. 411 and 415, ap. *P. L.*, t. 150. ⁴ *Ib.*, i. p. 409.

anathematised the assertion that "the bread and wine after consecration are *only* a symbol (or sign, *sacramentum*), and not the true body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and that this body cannot, in fact (or really, sensibly, *sensualiter*), and apart from the symbol (*in solo sacramento*), be handled by the priest or eaten by the faithful (*manibus sacerdotum tractari, vel frangi aut fidelium dentibus atteri*).” On the contrary, his profession proclaimed that “the bread and wine of the altar after consecration are not merely a sign (*sacramentum*), but are the true body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and are actually (*sensualiter*), and not in figure but in truth (*non solum sacramento sed in veritate*) handled by the priest,¹ etc.”

No sooner, however, was he back home in safety, than, heartily abusing Cardinal Humbert, “the Burgundian,” as he chose falsely to call him, he began anew to propagate his heretical opinions regarding the Blessed Eucharist. Summoned to Rome a second time by Hildebrand, now Pope Gregory VII., he again confessed before a council (February 11, 1079) that he had taught error, and signed a yet more exactly worded profession of Catholic faith than he had done before.²

With such patent evidence of want of character in the “unworthy deacon,” it is curious that Archbishop Trench should have to condemn a disposition to overrate Berenger, and this both intellectually and morally, and should have to emphasise the fact that “he was from the beginning restless and vain. . . . Then, too, there is a passionate feebleness about him. He scolds like an angry woman. A much smaller man than Abelard . . . he

Retraction
and
new profes-
sion by
Berengarius

¹ *De corp.*, c. 2, ap. *ib.*, p. 411. It is clear from the *Sacra Cæna* of Berengarius himself that the propositions given in the text were the ones denied and affirmed by him.

² Ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.*, p. 353.

shares with him in a very unpleasant trait, namely, that he cannot conceive of any opposing or even disagreeing with him, except as impelled to this by ignorance or dishonesty or personal malice.”¹

Coronation
of Nicholas.

If anything said with regard to Hildebrand by Bishop Benzo of Alba, who was present at this synod, can be accepted as true, it was not broken up before “Prandellus” (such is his designation of his enemy), “after corrupting the Romans with money and lies, placed a regal crown upon the head of his puppet (*hydolum*). On its lower circlet it bore the words: ‘The crown of the kingdom from the hand of God,’ and on its upper one, ‘The diadem of empire from the hand of Peter.’”² Whatever may be thought of the details of this narrative, there is no reason to doubt the main fact; for it is certain that the Popes were crowned in this century.

Non-publi-
cation of
the coun-
cil's
decrees.

The difficulties against which the Popes had to contend in their efforts for reform may be judged from this. Most of the Lombard bishops,³ “obstinate bulls,” as they are called by Bonizo,⁴ as soon as they returned home, took care not to publish the decrees of the council. They had received too much money from the incriminated clerks. The only one who ventured to make them public, viz., the bishop of Brescia, was almost beaten to death by them.⁵ This sacrilegious violence, however, had one good result. It led to a considerable increase of the party of the Patarines, and to the number of those who cut them-

¹ *Lectures on Mediæval Church History*, p. 196, 2nd ed., London, 1879.

² *Ad Heinricum*, l. vii., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. 672. The exact words have been already cited. See *supra*, p. 231, n. 4. Cf. what has been said on the coronation of the Popes in vol. iii., p. 14 ff., of this work.

³ Among them was the vulgar pamphleteer Benzo of Alba.

⁴ *Ad amicum*, l. vi., ap. Watterich, p. 211.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 212.

selves off from such of the clergy as were living in concubinage.¹

After this important synod had finished its sittings, and whilst, to the great grief of Nicholas, the pontifical authority was being set at naught by the Roman barons (*Romanorum capitanei*), an embassy arrived from the Normans.² Among those who had most distinguished themselves on the field of Civitella was Robert, one of the many sons of Tancred of Hauteville. Because he was the wiliest of the wily Normans, "second in craft neither to Cicero nor Ulysses,"³ he was known among them as the *wiseacre* (Guiscard) *par excellence*. According to the Eastern royal poetess, Anna Comnena, who both feared and hated Robert, he was a man "of ruddy complexion, light hair and broad shoulders, and possessed of a voice like to that of Achilles, of a shout which could put to flight myriads of enemies."⁴ This redoubtable warrior, the real founder of Norman rule in Italy, became the chief of his countrymen in Apulia after the death of his elder brother Humphrey (1056 or 1057), and soon made his younger brother Roger the associate of his power. What that power became may be gauged from the fact that in the same year his arms, or the terror of his name, put to flight the emperor of the East and the emperor of the West.

Realising how much more easily he would be able to accomplish his ends if he had the goodwill instead of the enmity of the Pope, he sent to Nicholas the embassy just mentioned. The ambassadors, in Robert's name, begged him to come to Apulía, and to effect a complete under-

¹ *Ib.* ² *Cod. A*, ap. Watterich, i. 209.

³ Will. of Apulia, l. ii., p. 1042.

"Cognomen Guiscardus erat, quia calliditatis
Non Cicero tantæ fuit, aut versutus Ulysses."

⁴ *Alexiad*, ll. i. and v. Cf. Huillard-Bréholles, p. 7.

standing with their countrymen, reconciling them to God's Church.¹ Nicholas and his advisers resolved to accept the invitation; they too came to the conclusion that it would be better to have the goodwill of the Normans instead of their enmity. The time had come to reverse the policy of Leo IX. and Stephen (IX.) X. The position of the Normans in south Italy was now assured, and they were anxious to be at peace with the Church.

The council of Melfi,
Aug. 23,
1059.

Accordingly, as well to hold a council for the promotion of discipline as to meet the Normans, the Pope, along with Abbot Desiderius, betook himself to Melfi, the headquarters of their power in Apulia. Robert, who was then engaged in the siege of Cariati on the coast, at once abandoned it. Besides the Normans, some hundred bishops gathered round the Pope in synod.² Of the latter, several were deposed for simony and other crimes, and decrees were issued, with not altogether satisfactory results, against the prevailing laxity in the matter of the celibacy of the clergy, which in those parts was encouraged by the example of the Greeks.³

When the ecclesiastical business of the synod was finished, the Norman question was discussed. To prove his wish for a thorough reconciliation with the Roman Church, Robert restored all its patrimonies which he had seized. In return, he was not only absolved from whatever ecclesiastical censures he had incurred, but, "at the request of many," was recognised by the Pope as duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on condition of his taking an oath of

¹ "Rogantes, ut in Apuliam descenderet et satisfactione suscepta eos ecclesiæ Dei reconciliare paterna pietate deberet." *Cod. A*, p. 209.

² Cf. William of Ap., *l.c.*, p. 1047.

"Concilium celebrans ibi papa, faventibus illi
Præsulibus centum jus ad synodale vocatis, etc."

³ "Ilac regione palam se conjugio sociabant" (clericus omnis). William, *l.c.*

fealty to him, and paying a yearly tribute of twelve denarii for every yoke of oxen.¹ At the same time, William de Montreuil, known as the Good Norman, *is said* to have been constituted the armed *advocate* or standard-bearer of the Roman See.²

To seal his compact with the Holy See, Robert took an oath to Nicholas in the following terms: "I, Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter, duke of Apulia and Calabria, and, by like grace, hereafter of Sicily, will from this hour be a true vassal (*fidelis*) to the Holy Church of Rome, and to thee, Pope Nicholas, my lord. In the counsel or in the act whereby thy life or liberty shall be endangered will I not share; the secret (*consilium*) which thou shalt have confided to my keeping I will never knowingly reveal to thy hurt; I will steadfastly assist the Roman Church in the protection and extension of the royalties (*regalia*) and possessions of St. Peter to the best of my power against all men; and I will

Oath of
Robert
Guiscard to
the Pope.

¹ *Cod. A*, p. 210. "Restitutis omnibus terris b. Petri, quas abstulerant, in libera potestate ipsius Pontificis, a vinculo excommunicationis eos absolvit et in gratiam sedis apostolicæ paterne recepit. . . . Hominio et fidelitate ab eis (Normans) suscepta, præter Beneventum, totam Apuliam et Calabriam ipsis concessit." Cf. *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 16 (15). "Robberto ducatum Apuliæ et Calabriæ atque Siciliæ confirmavit, sacramento et fidelitate Romanæ ecclesiæ ab eo (eis) primo recepta, necnon et investitione census totius terræ ipsorum," etc.

"Finita synodo, multorum papa rogatu
Robertum donat Nicholas honore ducali.

Est papæ factus jurando jure fidelis."

William, *lc.* Cf. Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vi.; *Chron. Northman.*, an. 1059, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 278; and Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, an. 1061, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. The last-named writes: "Robertus . . . ejus (Pope Nicholas) ligius homo effectus est . . . Nicolaus . . . investivit eumdem Robertum . . . per vexillum de honore Ducatus sui cum tota terra."

² Odericus Vitalis, *Hist. eccles.*, iii. 5. By mistake Watterich (i. 215 n.) supposes it was Robert who received this title.

support thee in the safe and honourable possession of the Roman Papacy, of its territory, and of its privileges (*principatum*); and I will not aim at harrying or plundering (thy domains), nor will I take possession of any of them without thy express consent or that of thy lawful successors. I will honourably see to it that the Roman Church each year receives the revenues of such of its patrimonies (*pensionem de terra S. Petri*) as I now hold or may hereafter come into my hands. All churches in my dominions I put, with their possessions, into thy power, and I will consider the defence of them an obligation resulting from my fealty to the Church of Rome. And shouldst thou or any of thy successors depart this life before me, I, under the directions of the better-disposed cardinals, the clergy, and the people of Rome, will do my best to secure the election and ordination of a Pontiff to the honour of St. Peter. All these things do I swear that I will loyally observe in thy sight, in that of the Roman Church, and in that of thy lawful successors who shall continue to me the investiture granted by you.”¹

In thus acting as the suzerain of south Italy, Nicholas was partly recognising the *status quo*, and partly bestowing on another rights which had been given to his predecessors by the Carolingian and Saxon donations, but which they had never themselves exercised. Nevertheless, we may be prepared to find that the Germans will bitterly resent the action of the Pope. They could justly point out not only that his predecessors had often acknowledged the

¹ Watterich, i. 234. I have followed in the main the translation of Bowden, *Gregory VII.*, i. 205. Watterich, *ib.*, 233, gives a shorter form, “ad recognitionem fidelitatis.” The versions of the oaths given by Deusdedit (*Coll. can.*, iii. 156, 157, pp. 339, 340) are practically the same as those given by Watterich, though in the longer version there is this additional clause, “et nulli jurabo fidelitatem, nisi salva fidelitate S. R. E.”

imperial claims over south Italy, but also that even the Normans themselves had in presence of a Pope sworn fealty to the emperor (1047). However, neither Greek nor German had been able to uphold their power in face of the Normans, so that it is hard to blame the Pope for accepting the suzerainty over a country which its actual owners practically put into his hands. It may be true that the connection with south Italy brought more curses than blessings to the Papacy right down to the nineteenth century, but still the legalising of the *de facto* owner's possession of the two Sicilies by one who had claims to a large portion of them was a blessing at least to the people in that kingdom. With the Normans came comparative peace and order where all had been chaos and war.

This papal recognition of their claims was promptly followed by important results. The following year (1060) saw a beginning made by Count Roger of the expulsion of the Saracens from Sicily, and the time immediately following the holding of the council saw the end of the evil sway which the barons had long held over Rome.

When the Pope began to retrace his steps, there accompanied him a strong force of Normans (*c.* September 1059).¹ The counts of Tusculum, Præneste, and the Sabina were soon subdued, and the Norman army advanced on Galeria, the retreat of the antipope and the chief stronghold of Count Gerard. One of the old *domuscultæ* of Pope Zachary, this fortress, some fifteen miles from Rome, was situated on the Arrone, and was a little south of the Via Clodia. After considerable loss on

The overthrow of the Campanian counts, 1059.

¹ "Tempore vero messis iterum dicti Agareni (Normans) Romam venerunt ad dictum . . . Nicolaum." *Ann. Rom.* The "harvest time" I should take to be equivalent to early autumn. *Cf. Cod. Vat. A*, p. 210.

the part of the Normans, and after they had ravaged the count's territories as far as Sutri, Galeria was reduced to the last extremity. It was then that the antipope offered to give up his claims, if his personal safety was guaranteed. After this had been done by thirty Roman nobles, Benedict gave himself up, went to Rome with the Pope, and retired to his home near S. Maria Maggiore to lead a quiet life. The power of the Campanian barons was completely broken.¹

Advance
ment of
Hilde-
brand.

It would not have been natural if Nicholas had forgotten the man who called him to the Papacy, and who had been mainly instrumental in bringing his rival to his knees. Ingratitude, however, cannot be laid at his door. He no sooner returned to Rome than he made Hildebrand œconomus and archdeacon of the Roman Church.² It seems to have been about this year that, perhaps for the second time, he took over the management of the monastery attached to St. Paul's outside-the-walls, in which he had long dwelt as a monk.

Among the signatures to the decrees of the Roman synod of April is that of "Airard, bishop and abbot of St. Paul's." Whilst in the latter capacity, he had been nominated by Leo IX. (1049) to the See of Nantes, but had been rejected by its people, had returned to Rome, and had again resumed his government of the abbey of St. Paul.³ However, about this time (1059 or 1060) he returned to France and made further vain efforts to obtain possession of his see. He was certainly still alive in 1064.⁴

¹ To the two authorities given in the preceding note, join Bonizo, *l.c.*, who adds: "Quæ res (the Norman expedition) Romanam urbem a capitaneorum liberavit dominatu."

² Delarc, ii. 146. The bitter Beno pretends (*Gesta*, ii. 10) that Hildebrand procured the archdeaconate from the Pope by intrigue and violence.

³ *Ib.*, i. 296.

⁴ Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 581.

Following Paul Bernried,¹ it would seem that Hildebrand had been "set over" the monastery of St. Paul when Airard left it in 1049. Owing to the latter's incompetency, it was in a wretched condition both temporarily and spiritually. It would not appear that Hildebrand had then the title of abbot; but he at once reformed it, and handed it back to Airard on his return from his fruitless journey in a very different state to that in which he had found it. Even on Airard's second departure, he seems for a second period to have governed the abbey at least for some time, probably till the death of Airard, merely as its procurator.²

A memorial of his zeal for the external as well as the internal beauty of his monastery has come down to our times in the famous panelled bronze doors of St. Paul's, which were saved from the disastrous fire of 1823. Standing at present in the sacristy of the great basilica, they are a solid memorial of the renaissance in art which was actually in progress at Constantinople about this time, and of the yearning in western Europe for better artistic work, which accompanied its intellectual awakening in this century. Inscriptions on the doors themselves let us know that they were made in the year 1070, "during the times of His Holiness Pope Alexander II., and of the Lord Hildebrand, venerable monk," and that they were fashioned at Constantinople by one Stauracius. The expense of their production was borne by Pantaleon, "patricius and consul," one of the sons of Count Mauro of Amalfi, and an ardent partisan of the Greek cause against the Normans. They were covered with fifty-four embossed bronze plates,

Bronze
doors of
St. Paul's

¹ *Vita Greg.*, c. 13. "Monasterio S. Pauli . . . prælatus est."

² If, from the fact of his ruling the abbey, a document of 1060 calls him its abbot, another, Jaffé, 4594 (3407), of July 1066, calls him "archidiaconum atque S. Pauli œconomum." Delarc, ii. 147 n.

ornamented with enamel work and inlaid with gold and silver thread. Needless to say that from one cause and another they are no longer in perfect condition.¹

The Pope and France
i. The condemnation of Berengarius.

From several of Nicholas's letters² it is clear that he had very early in his pontificate formed the design of imitating Pope Leo IX. and of going to France. Unable, however, to carry out his intention as soon as he had hoped, he manifested his interest in the affairs of that country by the dispatch of letters and legates. The council of 1059 was no sooner over than he sent notice of its decrees "to the bishops of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Gascony,"³ along with a copy of the retractation of Berengarius.⁴

ii. The Russian Anne.

Perhaps about this time also, Nicholas sent to the same country another letter which is worth mentioning, as it puts us in touch with that Franco-Russian alliance of which we have of late years heard so much. In 1051 Henry I. of France married, for her great beauty, the Princess Anne, daughter of Jaroslav the Great, grand-duke of Kief (1015-

¹ "Anno millesimo septuagesimo ab incarnatione Domini, temporibus Alexandri sanctissimi Papæ II. et Domini Hildebrandi venerabilis monachi et archidiaconi, instructæ sunt portæ istæ in regia urbe Constantinopolitana adjuvante Domino Pantaleone consule qui illas fieri jussit." According to a better reading of this inscription, in place of "II. et," we should read "Va, i. e., "cum arte." Both the artist and the donor beg the prayers of those who gaze on the doors. Cf. *Storia di S. Greg. VII.*, by Trama (Rome, 1887), i. 243; Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, 204; Marucchi, *Basiliques de Rome*, 145; *Una memoria di S. Greg. VII. e del stato monastico in Roma*, ap. *Civiltà Cattolica*, serie xvii., 3, 1895, p. 205 ff. The same great family of Amalfitan merchants caused other similar bronze gates to be made at Constantinople, and then presented them to various churches, where they can be seen to-day; e.g., at the cathedrals of Amalfi, Salerno, and at Monte Cassino, Monte Sant' Angelo on Mt. Gargano, etc. They served as models for similar ones afterwards made in Italy.

² Epp. 29, 30, and 39.

³ Ep. 7.

⁴ "Nicolaus . . . gaudens de tua conversione jusjurandum tuum scriptum misit per urbes Italiæ, Germaniæ, Galliæ," etc. Lanfranc, *De corp.*, c. 2.

54). Writing to this interesting lady, the Pope tells her that he rejoices to hear that manly virtues have taken up their abode in her womanly breast. He exhorts her to persevere in their exercise to the last hour of her life, and to use her influence that her husband may govern his kingdom well and may protect the Church. In fine, he would have her bring up her children well in the love of their Creator, and remind them that, if they are noble because they belong to the royal family, they are still more noble because they have the Church for their mother.¹

Whether or not on account of any representations made to him by his wife, Henry appears at this time to have viewed Rome with less suspicion. At any rate the first mentioned among those present at the coronation of his son, the little Philip (May 23, 1059), are Hugh, archbishop of Besançon, and Ermenfrid, bishop of Sion (in the Valais).² And they were the first after the consecrator, Gervais, archbishop of Rheims, to give their assent to the choice of Philip as king, though this privilege was accorded them "out of deference to the person they represented, for it is well known that the election can take place without the consent of the Pope."³

We have several letters of Nicholas to the consecrator of the boy-king of France. In one of these the Pope notes that Gervais has been accused to him of favouring the party of the antipope, and of not paying sufficient attention to

¹ This letter figures among those of S. Peter Damian (viii. 13), for he is supposed to have drawn it up. It bears the superscription, "Nicolaus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, gloriøsæ reginæ salutem et apostolicam benedictionem." He was the first Pope regularly to employ the last two words after the usual *salutem*.

² The document (most important for the history of France, as there are in it the first details of the consecration of one of its kings) in which these names occur is to be found in Bouquet, *Recueil des hist. des Gaules*, xi. 32, 33, or Labbe, *Concil.*, ix. 1108.

³ *Ib.*

iii. The coronation of her son.

iv. Gervais of Rheims.

the mandates of the Apostolic See. He has, however, taken no notice of these charges, because a person of good standing has assured him of the archbishop's "loyalty to St. Peter." He looks to Gervais to help to raise the Church of the Franks, "which has almost sunk to the ground," and begs him to use all his influence that the king may not allow himself to be led by designing men who hope, by promoting dissensions between their spiritual and temporal rulers, to escape the censure of the Pope. Gervais must strive especially that Henry do not insist on giving the bishopric of Macon to a man who is utterly unfit for the position.¹

Though in another letter Gervais² is commanded to make good damage done to the Church of Verdun, we find by yet another that the archbishop succeeded in convincing the Pope that the suspicion he entertained against his devotion to the Holy See was unfounded. Consequently Nicholas was not slow to express his intention of supporting Gervais. "For we have no wish to be lacking in justice, in support of which, were it necessary, we should think it a gain to die."³

v. Reforms
by legates
of the Pope.

Passing over the fact that it was Nicholas who removed the interdict from Normandy, and gave William the Conqueror permission to retain Matilda as his wife,⁴ we must notice his pressing on of reform in France. Feeling now more sure both of the king and of the archbishop of Rheims, and strong in the support of the great order of Cluny, he sent at the close of the year (1059) Cardinal Stephen, a Frenchman, a monk of Cluny and the bosom friend of Hildebrand, to continue the struggle against simony and clerical incontinency. Early in the following

¹ Ep. 26.

² Ep. 28. *Cf.* ep. 39, which is a letter of Gervais to the Pope.

³ Ep. 29. *Cf.* ep. 10.

⁴ *Cf.* vol. iii., p. 590, 4 n. of this work.

year the new legate presided over councils at Vienne and at Tours,¹ while the famous Hugo, abbot of Cluny, also acting in the Pope's name, did the same in the provinces of Avignon² and Toulouse.

The progress of the good work was, however, troubled by the death of the king (August 4, 1060). Formally announcing this event to the Pope, Gervais begged for his counsel. "You know how impatient of control our people are, and how hard to rule. I am afraid their dissensions will mean misery for the country. Help me by your advice to avoid it. As you are the father of all, it is for you to give it to every kingdom, but especially to ours, as it is the duty of good men to aid their native land first and foremost." He longs for the Pope to come to France, for he has brought honour to it, seeing that Rome has chosen him "to make him her own ruler and that of the world." He would honour the Pope as Our Lord honoured Peter when he made him head of the Church.³

When Stephen passed from France into Germany, he was very far from finding sentiments such as these animating the breasts of many of the bishops of the latter country, especially the *aulic* prelates. Though they were no doubt angry at the Norman alliance effected by Hildebrand, and at the tone of the new papal election

German
bishops
would
depose
Nicholas,
1060.

¹ Labbe, *Concil.*, ix. 1108. Cf. ep. 38, Nich. In this note (c. 10) the prohibition of the transaction of business on Sundays. See various monuments of Stephen's activity, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143, p. 1411 ff. The married clergy tried to defend their position by memorials to the Pope. See the strong letter addressed to Nicholas, under the name of Ulric, but probably written by Guenric or Wenric, scholastic of Trier. Ap. *P. L.*, t. 143, 1361.

² Delarc, *Greg. VII.*, ii. 369, 370; L'Huillier, *Vie de St. Hugues*, 94 ff.

³ "Nam qui nos sic honorastis prudentia et sanctitate vestra, ut de regno nostro Roma eligeret, quem sibi et mundo caput ordinaret: nos quoque tanto honore vos dignamur, quanto D. N. J. C. Petrum decoravit, ubi ecclesiæ principatu illum sublimavit." Ep. 39 inter epp. Nich.

decree, it seems to have been personal feeling that caused them to act against the Pope. This seems to be established by what we are told of the general taint of avariciousness which seems to have infected them all,¹ and of the action of Anno of Cologne. It is Benzo who tells us that it was Anno who stirred up others to avenge injuries which Hildebrand had inflicted both upon him and them.² The *injuries* of which they complained were the well-merited censures which Nicholas had meted out to them.³

Accordingly, during the course, it would seem,⁴ of the summer of the year 1060, "the chief officials (*rectores*) of the royal court, along with, forsooth, some holy bishops of the Teutonic kingdom, conspiring against the Roman Church, collected a council. Therein, with an audacity wholly incredible, they passed sentence upon the Pope and declared all that he had decreed null and void."⁵ It is not then to be wondered at that when Cardinal Stephen, of whose great virtue and patience St. Peter Damian has much to say, arrived in Germany, the court officials, as well clerical as lay (*aulici administratores*), would neither

¹ "Reliqui (after the boy-king and his mother) vero palatii præsidentes omnes avariciæ inhiabant, et sine pecunia ibi de causis suis nemo justiciam inveniebat, et ideo fas nefasque confusum erat." *Ann. Alt. maj.*, 1060.

² "Ad vindicandam vero *suam* aliorumque *injuriā* erexit se Anno Coloniensis, exquisitis adulteræ nativitatis (Hildebrandi) figmentis. Communi ergo consensu orthodoxorum direxit illi excommunicationis epistolam, qua visa dolens . . . præsentem deseruit vitam (Nicolaus)." *Ad. Hen.*, vii. 2. Cf. Anselm. Luc., *Contra Guibertum*, l. ii. p. 463.

³ Anselm of Lucca (*l.c.*) says: "Præfatum regem (Henry) et optimates ejus se ea constitutione indignos fecisse . . . quia . . . præfatum Nicolaum (Annonem) Coloniensem archiepiscopum *pro suis excessibus* corripuisse graviter tulerunt, eumque (Nicholas) hujus gratia, . . . quantum in se erat, a Papatu deposuerunt et nomen ejusdem in canone consecrationis nominari vetuerunt."

⁴ The whole of this affair is obscure. It was so disreputable that it has not been mentioned by any German authority.

⁵ Damian, *Discept. synod.*, Opusc., iv. p. 79.

admit him to their deliberations nor allow him to present to the king the documents he had brought with him.¹ After being kept waiting some five days, he had to return to Rome without accomplishing his mission.

Whilst, by means of his legates, Nicholas was endeavouring to forward the work of reform in distant lands, both among clergy and people, he was moving about Italy himself with the like intent. His beloved Florence saw him several times,² and we have traces of him at Fano, Farfa, and other places.³

Degradation of Benedict X., April 1060.

In April 1060 he assisted at a tragic ceremony, viz., at the public degradation of the papal pretender, Benedict X. Unfortunately, knowledge of this event has come down to us only through the antipapal author of the *Annales Romani*. From an incidental remark made by him,⁴ however, it would appear that it was suspicion, at least, of some new movement in his favour which was the cause of this fresh proceeding against him.

At any rate he was brought by the archdeacon Hildebrand into the Lateran basilica before the Pope and a number of bishops assembled in council. He was stripped of his sacerdotal vestments by Hildebrand, and was compelled despite his tearful protestations, to read aloud a list of crimes laid to his charge. By his side stood his aged mother, with bare bosom and dishevelled hair, weeping and wailing, and along with her were his relatives, striking their breasts and tearing their cheeks with their nails.⁵

¹ Damian, *l.c.*, p. 80.

² Many of his bulls (*e.g.*, epp. 15, 16, 17) testify to his love of his old episcopal city.

³ Jaffé, 4431 (3353), etc.

⁴ He says that Nicholas would not allow him to say Mass "*propter multos fideles quos ipse in hac urbe abebat vel extra.*"

⁵ "*Stabat autem ibi mater ejus cum solutis crinibus nudatisque pectoribus,*" etc. There can be no need to point out how a *scene* is being described to darken the character of Hildebrand.

Unmoved by such a spectacle, the archdeacon cried aloud, "Hear, ye citizens of Rome, the evil deeds of the man you chose as Pope." Then was the unfortunate Benedict forced to clothe himself in the robes of a Pope, only to have them torn from him.

After this humiliating ceremony was concluded, the unhappy man was sent to a hospice attached to the Church of St. Agnes, "that there he might live miserably," deprived of the right to exercise any of his sacred functions. However, some little time later, at the intercession of Suppus, the archpriest of St. Anastasius', and "spiritual father" of the Pope, he was at length allowed to act as deacon. He died about the time that Hildebrand became Pope Gregory VII., and, if we are to believe the author we are quoting, was buried with papal honours. Gregory, it is suggested, granted this distinction to atone for the uncharitable way in which he had ever regarded him.¹

Siege of
Alipergum,
Feb. 1061.

The last year of Nicholas's life found him still full of activity. A brief entry in the Beneventan Annals² records that in February he was besieging the castle of Alipergum, probably bringing some refractory baron of the duchy to a sense of reason and duty.

Lateran
synod,
1061.

The next month saw him back in Rome holding another synod in the Lateran. Strong decrees were passed against simony; but, owing to the wide spread of the disorder, it was decided that those who before the holding of this synod had been gratuitously ordained by simoniacal bishops were not to be molested, but that in future those who were ordained by a bishop known to them to be simoniacal were to be deposed, along with those who ordained them. And, as though anticipating trouble at

¹ Suppus impressed upon Gregory that during life Benedict had been very charitable to the Roman clergy.

² An. 1061, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii.

the next papal election, owing to the unsatisfactory attitude of the German Court, the election decree of 1059 was renewed.¹

The presence of Englishmen at this council naturally turns our thoughts to the relations of England with Rome. We have seen that Stigand, who was intruded into the See of Canterbury, had been excommunicated by Victor.² The sentence had been renewed by Stephen;³ but the antipope Benedict, possibly at the request of Earl Harold, who was in Rome on a pilgrimage about that time, sent the pallium to the usurper.⁴ Nicholas could not but renew the sentence of his predecessors against Stigand.⁵ He had also to act with severity towards the would-be occupant of the other archiepiscopal see of England. Along with Harold's brother, Tostig, earl of Northumberland, and his wife, there came to Rome for episcopal consecration Gisa and Walter, bishops-elect of Wells and Hereford, as, owing to the prohibition of Pope Victor, they could not apply to Stigand for it.⁶ In their company also was Ealdred, bishop of Worcester, who on the death of Cynesige (December 1060) had been nominated to the See of York, and wished to hold it along with the See of Worcester.⁷ He had secured his appointment by "playing upon the simplicity of King Edward" and by

Affairs of
England.

¹ Jaffé, sub 4454; Mansi, *Concil.*, t. xix., 899.

² See above, p. 197.

³ Jaffé, 4381.

⁴ *A.-Sax. Chron.*, an. 1508. William of Malmesbury (*De gest. reg.*, ii. 13) says Benedict gave it, "either corrupted by money . . . or because bad people are pleased to gratify others of the same description." On Harold's pilgrimage, cf. *Lives of Edward the Confessor* (Rolls series), p. xxxvi. and p. 410.

⁵ Jaffé, 4451.

⁶ For, as William of Malmesbury notes (*De gest. Pont.*, l. iii. p. 1575), no good bishop would receive episcopal consecration at his hands, who had not entered the sheepfold by the door, and by delays and bribes had avoided the repeated summonses of the Popes to Rome.

⁷ *A.-Sax. Chron.*, an. 1061.

gold.¹ The bishops received their consecration,² but Nicholas refused to recognise Ealdred as archbishop of York, because he had been transferred to a greater see without the permission of the Pope, and because he wanted to hold two sees.³

On their return home the pilgrims fell among thieves. One of the last acts of Gerard of Galeria, the main support, as we have seen, of Benedict X., was to plunder Earl Tostig and his company of all their possessions "to the value of a thousand pounds of the money of Pavia." For this last outrage he was excommunicated by Pope Nicholas and the synod of which we have been speaking. Lighted candles were extinguished when the sentence was pronounced to show that he was under a perpetual anathema.⁴

Utterly forlorn, the pilgrims returned to Rome. Tostig was more than indignant, and gave free vent to his feelings in words. "How could the Pope expect men in far-off lands to fear the excommunication which banditti at his very doors despised? He would induce the king of England to withhold Peter's Pence (*tributum S. Petri*) till the losses of the pilgrims had been made good." Tostig was anxious to secure the pallium for Ealdred, and seized his opportunity. Terrified at the thunder of his angry threats (*minarum fulmine*), the Pope's attendants begged him to grant the earl's request. To show that he was really grieved for what had happened, Nicholas both gave great presents to the pilgrims and granted the pallium to Ealdred, on condition that Worcester received a bishop of its own.⁵

¹ Will. of Malmes., *l.c.*

² Jaffé, 4457.

³ Stubbs (a Dominican. Fl., 1372), *Actus pontif. Ebor.*, ap. Twysden, p. 1071.

⁴ "Excommunicatus est, et extinctis luminaribus sub perpetuo fuit anathemate condemnatus." Damian, *Opusc.*, iv., ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 83.

⁵ Will. of Malmesbury, *De gest. Pont.*, l. iii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 1574. Cf. his *Vit. Wulstani*, i. 10, ap. *ib.*, 1746. Stubbs, *l.c.*

The Pope also entrusted them with two bulls. One was for Wilwin, bishop of Dorchester, confirming him in the privileges and possessions of his see,¹ and the other was for the king. It praises Edward's love for St. Peter, and prays that the Apostle may be his guardian in every difficulty. "For it is obvious that it is through the reverence and devotion which the kings of the English have ever shown to Blessed Peter that they have lived in honour at home, and have been victorious abroad." The commutation of his vow² granted by St. Leo IX. is confirmed, and the abbey of Westminster, which Edward was engaged in restoring, is declared to be the place where, for ever, the kings of England shall be consecrated, and the royal insignia shall be kept. Edward and his successors are, in fine, declared the "advocates and guardians" of the abbey, its cemetery, and other surroundings.³

But the days of Nicholas, all too short for the good of the world, were numbered. Not long after the departure of the English, he went to Florence about the end of May, and there, taken suddenly ill, died on July 27.⁴ He was buried, like Pope Stephen (IX.) X., in the Church of St. Reparata. His epitaph proclaims that for his learning and chastity he was illustrious before the whole world, and that he practised himself the virtues he taught to others; and it prays that heaven may receive him, in order that amid the blessed he may adore the God of Ages:

"Conditur hoc antro sacræ substantia carnis
Præsulis egregii Nicolai; dogmate sancto
Qui fulsit cunctis, mundum replevit et orbem.
Intactis nituit membris castoque pudore.

¹ Ep. 35.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 167 f.

³ Ep. 35.

⁴ Jaffé, sub 4468. "Repente infirmatus est." *Codex A*, ap. Watterich, i. 213. Beno, *Gesta*, ii. c. 10, as usual, cannot keep away from poison. "Nicolaus . . . veneno, ut dicitur, suffocatus."

Quæ docuit verbis, actuque peregit opimo.
 Sideræ plenus mansit splendore sophiæ.
 Cœlorum claris quem servant regna triumphis,
 Ut veneret soliis procerum per secula natum."¹

The illustrious deeds of Nicholas are celebrated not merely by an epitaph; their fame merited the praise of that severe judge, St. Peter Damian.² The same saint also gives us,³ on the authority of Mainard, bishop of Silva Candida, a striking proof of the Pope's humility. He assures us that a day never passed without his washing the feet of twelve poor men.⁴ If he had not time to perform this lowly act whilst it was light, he did it by night. Though the influence of Hildebrand was deservedly paramount during his pontificate, what he accomplished in its course is enough to show how baseless are the impertinent judgments of Benzo.⁵ If choice of him to be Pope was a credit to the discernment of Hildebrand, his splendid activity and his shining virtues were his own.

¹ Ap. Watterich, i. 235. In the interesting Abbey Church of SS. Trinità in Venosa there is a pillar in the north or left aisle on which is an ancient portrait in fresco of Nicholas II., with an inscription setting forth that he consecrated the church in 1059. Cf. Hare, *Cities of Southern Italy*, p. 301; Jaffé, sub 4407 and 4408.

² Cf. his ep. i. 7. He tried in vain to induce the Pope and archdeacon Hildebrand to allow him to resign his bishopric. Ep. i. 8. Cf. *Opusc.*, xix., *De abdic. episcop.*, and Capecelatro, p. 304 ff.

³ *Opusc.*, ix. c. 7.

⁴ He showed his love of the poor in safeguarding their rights when he confirmed the privileges of monasteries. Cf. ep. i.

⁵ He talks of him as another of Hildebrand's puppets (*alterum idolum*), whom he kept fed in a stall like an ass, and whom he at length bound not to do anything without his orders (*Ad Heinricum* l. vii. p. 671).

ALEXANDER II.

A.D. 1061-1073.

Sources.—In Migne's *Pat. Lat.*, t. 146, there are 146 genuine bulls,¹ letters, etc., of Alexander, and six doubtful ones. Something has already been said regarding most of the chief authorities on which we have to rely for the *Life* of this Pope. Comparatively recently, however, after a series of hair-breadth escapes from destruction, there has been published² a poem of 3658 distichs on St. Anselm of Lucca, the nephew of Alexander, by Ragnerius, his second successor in the See of Lucca (1097-1112). Considering its length, and the fact that it was written not later than 1097, it is a disappointing production from an historical point of view. If it is one of the best poems of its time, it is one of the worst histories. It is little more than a panegyric of Gregory VII. Its author utilises certain facts of the *Life* of St. Anselm simply as a means of glorifying the ideas of that great Pope.³

Quotations will often be made from a narrative called in Watterich *Codex Vaticanus A*. This production is the work of one who has used the *Catalogues* of the Popes and (while adding not always accurately something of his own) especially the *Liber ad amicum* of Bonizo of Sutri. That *one* seems to have been

¹ In them we find the following mottoes : "Magnus dominus noster et magna virtus ejus ; Deus nostrum refugium et virtus ; Exaltavit me Deus in virtute brachii sui."

² By V. De la Fuente, Madrid, 1870.

³ Cf. S. Colucci's introduction to his *Un nuovo poema latino, la vita di Anselmo da Baggio*, Roma, 1895. All the principal lines of the poem are quoted by Colucci in the original.

Cardinal Boso, apparently an Englishman, and certainly the confidant of the Englishman Hadrian IV. Cf. the *Vita Bosonis*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 351 ff.

Works.—Delarc has given a very full account of the reign of Alexander in the second book of his *Grégoire VII.* To his learned labours on this Pope not much is added by Marocco's *Storia di Alessandro II. e. di S. Anselmo*, Torino, 1857, or by Colucci's work.

EMPERORS (1) OF THE EAST.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KING OF FRANCE.
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Constantine X. (Ducas), 1059–1067. { Michael VII. (Ducas), 1067–1078. { Romanus IV. (Dio- genes), 1068–1071.	St. Edward the Con- fessor, 1042–1066. William I., the Con- queror, 1066–1087.	Philip I., 1060– 1108.
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EMPERORS (2) OF THE WEST.

Henry IV. (only King of Germany and of the Romans, 1056–1106).

Import-
ance of the
year 1061.

HOWEVER obscure are some of the facts connected with the election of Alexander II., there is no doubt that it was a matter of the greatest moment to the Roman Church, and through it to the world. For, as St. Peter Damian realised at the time, and as is now acknowledged by all classes of historians, its good estate at this epoch was essential to the well-being of Christendom.¹ It was a question whether, softened and enervated by the loss of a celibate clergy, and held in base subjection to the great ones of this world by the bonds of simony, the Catholic Church was to be kept stamped in the mire by the iron

¹ "Nisi enim ad rectitudinis statum sedes romana redeat, certum est, quia totus mundus in suo lapsus errore perdurat. Et necesse est jam ut eadem sit renovandæ principium, quæ nascentis humanæ salutis exstiterat fundamentum." Ep. ii. 19.

heel of feudalism, or whether it was to arise and renew its youth by again forming a ministry at once strong through its celibacy, and free through being gratuitously chosen for its merits. Was the Roman Church to remain the one safe harbour¹ for the poor and for the oppressed, or were its breakwaters too to be broken down by the violent passions of men? Was it to be free to work for the moral and intellectual elevation of Europe, or was it to be bought over to connive at the violation of its own rights,² and those of the weak and the down-trodden in every country of the West?

In the year 1061 the forces behind these alternatives met in conflict over the election of a successor to Nicholas II. On the one side were many of the German statesmen, who were little disposed to give up the power they had acquired of nominating the Popes; many of the bishops and priests of Lombardy, who were equally disinclined to abandon their simoniacal and unchaste habits; and lastly, many of the Roman barons, who were determined, if possible, to retain the Papacy as an appanage to their families.³ Prominent among the leaders of this party were

The forces
in action.

¹ The same cardinal (Ep. ii. 1) says: "Videtur . . . quia totus mundus pronus in malum per lubrica vitiorum in præceps ruit. . . . Inter tot immane patentes perditionis humanæ voragines, unicus et singularis portus Romana patet ecclesia."

² "Sæculares quilibet ecclesiastica jura corradunt, salaria subtrahunt . . . et sic stipendia pauperum, velut hostium se reportare manubias gloriantur." The powerful plunder the helpless, the saint continues. "Isti vero adversus inermes arma corripunt." *Ib.*, i. 15, to Pope Alexander. Cf. *ib.*, vii. 18, where he exhorts a noble "noli de rapinis pauperum vivere."

³ With some exaggeration, but with much truth, Guido or Wido of Ferrara, quoting the words of the antipope Guibert or Wibert (Clement III.), thus describes their doings: "Omnes Romani comites, sicut semper fuit avaricia Romanorum, decedente Romanæ sedis episcopo, singuli . . . singulos apostolicos eligeant, ut interdum quatuor et quinque episcopos Romana sedes haberet. . . . Fretus quisque multitudine militum et suffragio propinquorum, quicquid

the imperial chancellor Guibert (or Wibert), afterwards an antipope, Gerard of Galeria, the bandit who despoiled Tostig, and Cardinal Hugo Candidus, of whom Bonizo thinks that the less said the better, but whose conduct was as crooked as his eyes.¹ The apologist of the party was Benzo, bishop of Alba, one of the "headstrong bulls" of Lombardy whom Nicholas II. tried in vain to tame, and to reclaim from his simoniacal habits.² Though a lower type of pamphleteer than even Liutprand of Cremona, he will be sometimes here cited, because he has incidentally preserved some facts which are worth knowing, and because his production³ serves to show the lengths to which party faction was prepared to go. While "Brother Benzo," as he is fond of styling himself, "is another Aristeus, binding his enemies with his arguments,"⁴ whilst he is "universally beloved" and "dear to everybody," Pope Alexander "is the heretic of Lucca," is "Lucensis (of Lucca), or rather Lutulensis (muddy)," has "a face like the

Romanæ ecclesiæ poterat rapiebat. Distrahebatur prædium Romanæ sedis in partes innumeras, et is novissime omnium probatissimus et melior apostolicus habebatur, qui majorem Romanis pecuniam contulisset." *De scismate Hildebrandi*, l. ii., *init.*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. 551. Of Guido we know that he came to Rome after the year 1073, that he abandoned Gregory VII., and got his bishopric of Ferrara from the antipope Clement III. (1086), and that he was alive in 1092. He seems to have written his *De scismate* just before May 24, 1086. Its first book gives the case for Gregory, the second that against him. Cf. Bonizo, *l.c.*, "Romani capitanei volentes Romanam urbem opprimere et sub potestatem suam, ut antiquitus, redigere." Cf. *Codex Vat. A*, ap. Watterich, or, as *Vitæ Bosonis*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 359.

¹ "De cuius morum perversitate melius est silere quam pauca dicere, sed ut brevius cuncta perstringam, qualis fuit oculis, talis fuit factis. Ut enim habuit retortos oculos, ita ejus retorta fuere facta." *Ad amic.*, vi. Cf. *Cod. Vat. A*, "vir . . . seditiosus et duplex."

² Bonizo, *l.c.*

³ Balzani calls it "abject in its adulation of the emperor and in the vile insults directed against the Gregorian party." *Chronicles of Italy*, 207.

⁴ *Ad Heinricum*, ii. 6.

damned,"¹ and is an ass of every kind—Asinandrellus, Asinelus, Asinander. Hildebrand is even more reviled. Not only is he Prandellus, or Folleprand, but he is a false monk who not merely "consults devils,"² but is a "cowled devil" and a "limb of the devil."

On the other side, the material force of the empire was somewhat balanced by that of Godfrey, duke of Tuscany, and of the Normans, who were both prepared to aid the Papacy, at least so far as by so doing they could advance the cause of their own independence. But the former was liable to be swayed by his wife and his daughter, Beatrice and Matilda, who supported a reforming Papacy from purer motives; while over the latter, Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, was able to exert an influence sometimes sufficient to induce them to give help which was not wholly selfish. But the heart and soul of the party of reform was the monk Hildebrand, archdeacon of the Roman Church, a man hated by some with the same intensity with which he was loved by others. For men felt themselves either strongly attracted towards him or disposed to be bitterly hostile to him. They were either for or against Hildebrand. Among the former in Rome mention has already been made of Leo the son of Benedict the Christian, Cencius Frangipane, and John (or Gerard) Brazutus.³ Nor were Gregory and his friends in want of a pen at this period.

¹ *Ad Heinricum*, ii. 2.

² II. 17. Watterich, i. 270-279, gives all the extracts from Benzo that bear on Alexander.

³ "Prandellus, diaboli membrum, novus antichristellus, habuit consilium cum Leone, originaliter procedente de Judaica congregatione, simulque cum Cencio Frajapane atque cum Brachiuto Johanne." *Ib.*, ii. 4. Now, for the first, but not for the last time, does the Frangipane family figure in the history of Rome. The same Cencius's name occurs in the Farfa document of 1060 already quoted. Gregorovius (*Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 130 n.) traces the family to a certain "Leo qui vocatur Frajapane" in 1014.

The literary ability of St. Peter Damian was at their disposal. And if his style and character were very far removed above those of Benzo in dignity and truthfulness, he could at times dip his pen in gall, and say severe things, while his zeal was occasionally only too ardent.

Selection of
Anselm of
Lucca as
Pope.

Between the death of Nicholas II. and the election of his successor more than two months intervened. What was the cause of this delay? What were the cardinals doing in the meantime? The fact that Nicholas had died outside Rome would account for some delay in the appointment of his successor, but not to the extent noted. There can be little doubt that the hesitation to proceed to the election was due to the schismatical attitude which had been taken up by the German Court when it caused Nicholas to be declared excommunicated. But while the party of reform were waiting to see what the empress and her advisers would do, or were anxiously deliberating what they should do themselves, their hands were forced by the Crescentii and the counts of Tusculum.¹ As they dare not now directly impose one of their creatures on the chair of Peter, they resolved that the men who were striving to put an end to their lawlessness should not elect another reformer. They accordingly surreptitiously possessed themselves of the pontifical insignia and of the ornaments of the patricius,² and sent

¹ Their leader was Gerard of Galeria. Hence "the defender of the Roman Church," in Damian's *Discept. synod.*, p. 85, asks how he can be the Pope "quem . . . unus homo cum suis complicibus, idemque non Romanus sed suburbanus, et non Ecclesiæ filius, sed maledictus, et anathematizatus elegit." And at the close of this *discussion* he makes the royal advocate admit that it was by Gerard's influence "*potissimum* hunc episcopum . . . fuisse pellectum."

² "Quidam eorum (Romanorum), *furto surripientes*, crucem auream, quam ante papam portari solebat, et alia quædam pontificalia ornamenta ad istum detulerunt." *Annal. Alt. maj.*, 1060. "Itaque mittunt ei (the youthful Henry) clamidem, mitram, annulum et patrici-

off to Germany a deputation, headed by Gerard of Galeria,¹ to request "the boy-king to bestow a pious ruler on the Roman Church."² This decided Hildebrand.³ The Roman Church must not lose its undoubted right of choosing the supreme Pontiff, and action must be taken at once, as the people were being stirred up to sedition.⁴ But as it was felt to be necessary to do all that was possible to avoid trouble with the German Court, a candidate was selected who was both suitable, and known to be on good terms with it.⁵ Anselm, bishop of Lucca, the friend of Duke Godfrey, was the object of the choice of the reforming party, and Hildebrand was sent to bring him to Rome for election. At the same time Abbot Desiderius was commissioned to bring up Richard of Capua and his Normans to keep order in the city.⁶

alem circulum per episcopos, per cardinales atque per senatores, et per eos qui in populo videbantur præstantiores." Benzo, vii. 2. Benzo's exaggerated description of the importance of the deputation of the *capitanei* will be noticed. Cf. *Ad Hein.*, ii. 4.

¹ "Longe prius (the election of the antipope Cadaloüs) Gerardo comite aliisque romanis, ut dicebatur, civibus infatigabiliter insistentibus, ad hoc (the said election) inducti sumus." So speaks the royal advocate in Damian's *Disceptatio synodalis*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 83, or ap. *M. G. Libell.*, p. 90. Cf. Berthold, an. 1061.

² "Post mortem . . . Nykolay, miserunt Romani legatos ad Heinricum regem qui tunc puer erat, ut pium rectorem S. R. ecclesiæ tribueret." *Ann. Rom.*

³ "*Hoc audito* (the embassy of Gerard), Hildebrandus . . . illico perrexit . . . et duxit Anselmum." *Ib.*

⁴ Damian, *Discept. synod.*, p. 72, etc.

⁵ Hence the papal advocate in the *Disceptatio* (p. 85) says: "Porro autem quia in constituendo pontifice romana Ecclesia a charitate regia non recessit, hoc etiam indicio est, quia cum in clero suo religiosus viris et sapientibus abundaret, non de propriis, sed eum qui regi tanquam domesticus et familiaris erat, elegit." *Ib.*, p. 85.

⁶ "Cum maxima inter Romanos seditio cœpisset de ordinando Pontifice exoriri, Hildebrandus . . . cum cardinalibus nobilibusque Romanis, consilio habito, Anselmum eligunt; . . . nostro Desiderio simul cum principe Romam proficiscente eique in omnibus suffragante." *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 21 (19). Hence the expression of Bernald (*Anna.*,

His installation, Oct. 1, 1061.

Quite against his will,¹ Anselm allowed himself to be persuaded by Hildebrand, and to be offered to the Romans as a candidate for the Papacy. By a large assembly,² gathered together in the Church of St. Peter *ad vincula*,³ he was declared duly elected, and was escorted to the Lateran and solemnly crowned.⁴ On the following day Richard of Capua again renewed his oath of fidelity⁵ to the new Pope, who had taken the name of Alexander, and then withdrew his forces.

The new Pope.

The new Pope belonged to the family of Baggio da Baggio, of which mention is found in documents of the ninth century,⁶ and which took its name from Badaglum (Badagio, now Baggio), a village some three miles west of Milan. His father's name is variously given in the catalogues as Anselinus or Ardericus. Part of his studies were made under Lanfranc⁷ at Bec; and the favour which throughout his pontificate he showed to monks may be traced to his early connection with that famous monastery.

1061), "Anshelmus a Nordmannis et quibusdam Romanis papa ordinatus." According to Benzo (vii. 2, and ii. 4), it was Hildebrand who went for Richard; and he adds that he secured his services by the gift of £1000.

¹ Cf. the quotation from William of Poitiers in the next note, with Alexander's own declaration at the council of Mantua. "Me reclamantem et renitentem traxerunt et in sede apostolica statuentes consecraverunt." Ap. *Ann. Alt.*, 1064.

² "Is præsul Luciensis, cum altiore gradum nullatenus appeteret, violento plurimorum consensu, quorum apud Romanos tunc præcellebat auctoritas, ingenti concilio assentiente, in eo locatus est quo præsulum orbis terræ caput existeret." Will. of Poitiers, *Gesta Willelmi*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1246. Cf. Rangerius, p. 42.

³ Benzo (vii. 2), who declares that disturbances in connection with the election had to be put down by the Norman swords, and that the election itself took place at night.

⁴ "Quasi rex in synodo coronatur." *Ib.*

⁵ Ap. *Deusdedit*, ed. Martinucci, p. 341.

⁶ Marocco, pp. 16-19. He dedicates his book to Alessandro Baggio.

⁷ Hence his praise of his old master, and his sending his nephew to be trained by him. Ep. 70. Cf. Ep. 57.

A glance at the *Regesta* of Jaffé will show him continuing the policy of his predecessors, and confirming monasteries in the possession of their property, protecting them from the encroachments of bishops and nobles, taking them under his protection, and sometimes exempting them from episcopal control.¹ And this he did in every country in Europe.

Becoming in due course attached to the clergy of Milan, he was, at least, one of the first supporters of the Pataria,² and was, even according to Landulf, a diligent preacher of the Word of God.³ His zeal, especially against the married clergy,⁴ was too disturbing for Archbishop Guido, and so he procured his nomination to the See of Lucca (1057).⁵ By this device, however, he did not altogether get rid of the influence he dreaded. Anselm continued to encourage the Patarines, and, as we have seen, even appeared in Milan as apostolic legate along with Hildebrand. The first letter he wrote as Pope was to the Milanese, exhorting them to lead purer lives; and he devoted no little of his pontificate to working for their betterment.

¹ When he did this, he exacted a return: *e.g.*, in the case of the monastery of Auriliac, an annual tribute of 10 solidi, "which make 120 denarii." Jaffé, 4649. Ep. 76 shows him confirming a donation of property made by an abbot for "the use of the poor and of pilgrims."

² Benzo (vii. 2) says he founded it: "primitus Patariam invenit." His connection with the Church of Milan is affirmed by himself: "Mediolanensis ecclesiæ filius, et Ambrosianis uberibus sublactatus." Ep. 1. Cf. Landulf, *Mediol. Hist.*, iii. 4; and Ep. 53.

³ *L. C.* "Erat enim Anselmus in sermone potens, divitiis affluens, qui et ipse sancta Dei Evangelia . . . polite populo . . . prædicabat."

⁴ He declared: "Nisi feminas haberent omnes hujus urbis sacerdotes . . . in prædicatione et aliis bonis moribus satis congrue valerent." *Ib.*

⁵ He retained the bishopric of Lucca as pope. Cf. epp. 9 and 62. Whilst bishop he had the honour of beginning the noble Romanesque Cathedral of S. Martino of Lucca. Cf. Freeman, *Histor. and Architect. Sketches*, p. 95 f.

Cadalotus
of Parma.

Whilst, on the one hand, the new Pope was rejoicing at the congratulations he was receiving from loyal souls, who prayed that he might show himself a worthy representative of God in his government of the Church,¹ he was, on the other, saddened by the news that reached him from Germany. Gerard and his associates had been joined by Cadaloüs, bishop of Parma. "Pretending that he was unaware that a successor to Nicholas had been elected, and taking with him, so the story went, an immense sum of money, he betook himself to the king's court at Augsburg. Nor did he cease pushing his case with the empress-mother, with the (young) king, and with the bishop of Augsburg (Henry), till he had secured his appointment to the Apostolic See."²

Cadaloüs was the nominee of a number of Lombard bishops who, on the death of Nicholas, had assembled in council under the presidency of the chancellor Guibert. They had decided that the only Pope they would accept would be one "from the paradise of Italy who could compassionate their infirmities."³ The principal supporters of Cadaloüs were the bishops Dionysius of Piacenza⁴ and Gregory of Vercelli, men whom St. Peter Damian denounces as of a very unepiscopal character (*petulci ac proletarii*), and of whom he says that their habits made

¹ Cf. the letter of Bartholomew, archbishop of Tours, ap. Delarc, ii. 295.

² "Episcopus . . . Parmensis, Kadalo nomine, audita unius morte, alterius autem electionem simulans se nescire, sumpta secum, ut ferebatur, pecunia immensa, curtem adiit," etc. *Ann. Alt. maj.*, 1060.

³ Bonizo, and *Cod. Vat. A*, ap. Watterich, i. 256 f. "Sperant enim (clerici uxorati) quia, si Cadalous qui ad hoc gehennaliter æstuat, universali ecclesiæ Antichristi vice præ sederit, ad eorum votum luxuriæ frena laxabit." Damian, *Opusc.*, xviii., diss. 2, c. 8. Hence, even Villemain, *Gregory VII.*, i. 310, notes that the "vicious life" of Cadaloüs gave no fear of his being a reformer.

⁴ Elected in 1049, he was deprived of his bishopric in 1075.

them better judges of female beauty than of the proper men to choose as Popes.¹

The man on whom men of that description fixed their choice was, of course, either like unto themselves, or of such a pliable character as easily to be made their tool. He was of the family of the counts of Sabulonus, a castle not far from Verona, and, on the death of his father, took up his abode in the city, along with his brothers, at the court of its duke. In 1042 he joined the ranks of the clergy; and three years later, becoming bishop of Parma, he founded the monastery of St. George *ex (or in) Braida*, on the banks of the Adige, just outside the city, whence Dom Cajetan drew these particulars of his early life.² In allowing himself to be made an antipope, and thus "the ruin of the people," as St. Peter Damian is fond of calling him,³ he displayed anything but a virtuous character; and that act seems to have been but the climax of an ill-spent life. The last-named author says he was worse than Saul, for he from being good became bad, whereas the bishop from being bad became worse.⁴ And he further declares that those who had been present affirmed that it was only the clemency of the Roman Church that saved him from condemnation by the synods of Pavia (1049), Mantua (1052), and Florence (1055).⁵ If these words are, however,

¹ "Sicut norunt disputare de specie feminarum, sic utinam potuissent in eligendo pontifice perspicax habere iudicium." Ep. i. 20.

² Ap. *P. L.*, t. 144, p. 247.

³ This epithet, by an etymology quite his own, the saint extracts from the name Cadaloüs, "a cadendo dictus, ruinam populi sonat," *Discept. synod.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 85. Cf. Ep. i. 20. "Cadalous quippe vocaris. Et prima . . . pars hujus nominis manifeste denuntiat casum, secunda populum, λαός, siquidem Græce, Latine populum sonat."

⁴ *Discept.*, *l.c.*, p. 84. He also calls him "reprobis homo," and speaks of him as one "in quem, teste mundo, omnium vitiorum sentina confluit," and as "mango æcclesiarum." Cf. ep. 19 of Alexander II.; and Rangerius, p. 34.

⁵ Ep. i. 20.

too vague to allow us to do more than suspect him of simony or concubinage, specific charges of the former crime, at least, are definitely brought against him by the same writer.¹

The
council of
Basle, Oct.
28, 1061.

To give some show of canonical action to their proceedings, the supporters of Cadaloüs convened a synod at Basle. The first act in its proceedings was the crowning of the young king as Patricius of the Romans, by Gerard and his associates, with the golden circlet they had brought from Rome.² Then, despite the opposition of at least a considerable number of the archbishops and bishops,³ Cadaloüs was declared Pope by the young king,⁴ was invested with the mitre and the customary red cloak or cope,⁵ and took the name of Honorius II. "These doings," regretfully note the Annals of Altaich, "were the beginnings of troubles," and were possible "because the king was a boy, and his mother, inasmuch as she was a woman, was easily swayed first by one adviser and then by another;

¹ "Nam præbendarum Ecclesiæ tuæ vel Ecclesiarum damnanda commercia, aliaque longe turpiora . . . hactenus in tuo tantum narrabantur oppidulo." *Ib.* The saint denounces in verse as well as in prose his evil use of gold "auro destruis orbem." Poem n. 166. *Cf.* n. 172, and the close of *Opusc.*, iv., all ap. t. 145.

² "Imposita corona a Romanis transmissa, patricius Romanorum est appellatus." Bernaldus, an. 1061.

³ The Annals of Augsburg, ap. *M. G. S.S.*, iii., say simply, "Archiepiscopis et ceteris episcopis non consentientibus."

⁴ "Ordinatus est . . . per manum regis Heinrici." Benzo, ii. 1. "Romanorum legatis eligentibus." Bernald, *l.c.* *Cf.* Berthold, etc. Beno (ii. 11) pretends it was the cardinals who compelled Henry "ut in electo suo Parmensi episcopo Cadalo favorem et auxilium præstaret." The truth in the matter of Benedict's election is well put by a *Salzburg* catalogue, drawn up by the priest Haimo (†1139), a monk of the monastery of Eistorf. "Benedictus . . . contra canones, privata auctoritate quorundam Romanorum gratia promotus," etc., ap. Pitra, *De epist. Rom. Pont.*, p. 331.

⁵ "Habes nunc forsitan mitram, habes juxta morem R. Pontificis rubeam cappam." Damian (ep. i. 20) to Cadaloüs. His alabaster throne may still be seen behind the choir in the cathedral of Parma.

whilst the other chief men of the palace were all slaves to avarice, and would do no justice without money, so that right and wrong were confounded together."

It is true that by the election decree of 1059 some ill-defined right in connection with papal elections had been left to the emperor. But whatever that right was, it is certain that it was the survival of the right which had been given to him originally with a view to preventing disorderly elections, and that there was no idea in the minds of the framers of the decree that a regular election would be nullified if the right was not exercised. They did not regard the emperor or anything that he might do or not do as essential to a valid election.

The rights and wrongs of the action of the German Court.

But the action of the German Court in its opposition to Nicholas II. made it plain that it was not content with the right of exercising a kind of police supervision over papal elections. It had been so long in the habit of exercising a predominating influence over them that it was not disposed to give up its usurped rights. Hence in the matter of the election of Alexander II. there was no formal protest on its part against the violation of such rights as had been left to it by the decree of 1059, but a violent attempt to keep a position to which it had no intrinsic claim. It was not even dignified in its violence. It allowed itself to be induced, by whatever means, to sanction the patently uncanonical election of an unworthy candidate, the representative of a base cause, and to allege groundless charges to discredit the obviously canonical election of a desirable candidate, who stood for reform in the best sense of that much-abused word.

Whilst this unwarrantable election brought the greatest joy to that section of the clergy that was devoted to simony and concubinage,¹ "the eye of the Papacy and the im-

St. Peter Damian writes to the anti-pope.

¹ Bonizo, *l.c.*

movable support of the Apostolic See,"¹ St. Peter Damian, was filled with anguish of soul. He at once dispatched a long and earnest letter to the intruder. Reminding him of the mercy the Roman See had shown him in not punishing him for the faults of which he had been guilty when he pretended to be nothing more than bishop of Parma, he indignantly asked him how he could dare to allow himself to be elected bishop of Rome, and that too without the co-operation of the cardinal-bishops and the Roman Church? In the strongest language of the Sacred Scriptures he tried to impress upon the usurper the evil he had done and the trouble he was about to bring upon the world. He endeavoured to shame him by reminding him that up to this time his transgressions had been known to but few, but that, now he laid claim to be Pope, they were being discussed everywhere. "They are being talked about in markets where the merchants most do congregate, and by the workers in the fields. Boys at school are engaged in pulling your character to pieces, and the citizens who meet together in the streets are condemning you." He even ventured, in a few verses at the end of his letter, to assert that the intruder would die in the course of the year.²

Benzo sent
to Rome.

It was all to no purpose. Cadaloüs at once began to make preparations to establish himself in Rome by force; and instructions were given by the court to its Italian officials to afford him all the necessary help. Meanwhile

¹ Ep. Alex. 15.

² "Non ego te fallo, cœpto morieris in anno." Ep. i. 20. Cadaloüs did not die during the year; but Damian was satisfied with regard to his prophecy, because he died, as it were, as *pope* during the year, inasmuch as elected, "die SS. App. Simonis et Judæ . . . eodemque vertente anno, in prædictorum app. vigiliis ab omnibus Teutonicis et Italicis episcopis . . . qui cum rege tunc aderant (viz. at the council of Augsburg), damnatus est et depositus." *Opusc.* 18, c. 8.

the notorious Benzo was dispatched to Rome with large sums of money to weld together by its means a strong opposition.¹ In passing through Tuscany, he tells us himself how he bought the support of various counts; and when he had been received in Rome by the malcontents within the city, and lodged "in the palace of Octavian," near S. Maria in Aracoeli, he gave them also gold in plenty and promised them mountains of it.² If we are to believe his own account of his doings, he displayed the greatest activity for the antipope, not only in a more or less secret manner, but openly. And he has left us quaint pictures of his private conferences with his aristocratic supporters in their tall white mitres, and of his public addresses to the people in the Coliseum or the Circus Maximus (*quoddam hypodromium*). He avers that Pope Alexander himself was present at one of these latter, that he objurgated him for leaving the see given him by King Henry, and for usurping that of Rome by the aid of money and the Normans; that the Pontiff meekly replied that he would send an embassy to Germany to explain his action, and that he then took his departure amid the hootings of the multitude.³

As soon as he had formed a more or less strong party, Benzo sent word to the antipope to make his descent on Rome.⁴ With a strong force, drawn for the most part from his bishopric, and paid for by its goods,⁵ Cadaloüs began his southward march by way of Bologna, gathering recruits as he went along. Despite the opposition of the Countess

Cadalot's
advances
on Rome,
1062.

¹ Of this mission Benzo has left us an account as full of lies as of bombastic and verbose diction. Ap. Watterich, i. 270 f., or *M. G. SS.*, xi.

² "Honeravi comites amirandis muneribus," *L.c.*, ii. 1. "Nunc pollicendo auri montes, nunc paradisi mellifluos fontes." *Ib.*, c. 6.

³ Benzo, ii. 2. "Vade leprose, exi bavose, discede peose!"

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 5.

⁵ Bonizo and Benzo, *ll.cc.*; Damian, Ep. ii. 21.

Beatrice, he reached Sutri on March 25. Here he was joined by Benzo with "his Roman senators and Galerian princes."¹

Meanwhile Hildebrand had not been inactive. He had gathered together some troops, but had failed to induce either the Normans or Godfrey of Tuscany, both intent on their own schemes, to come to his aid. However, when the forces of Cadaloüs encamped on the Neronian fields, they were assailed by the Romans (April 14). Victory was at first with the antipope, and he all but gained possession of St. Peter's;² but, unable to hold his ground in the Leonine city, he withdrew by the ford at Fiano (Flajanum, the ancient Flavian), some twenty-six miles from Rome, to the other side of the Tiber. The castle of St. Angelo, nevertheless, remained in the power of one of his partisans, Cencius or Crescentius, the son of the prefect Stephen.³

Receives
Greek
envoys.

At Fiano, Cadaloüs received some fresh recruits, and then moved to Tusculum, where he was joined by its counts, and where—a most unexpected remark from the artificial Benzo—all "were delighted by the most fragrant scents of herbs and flowers."⁴ Whilst still encamped beneath the towers of Tusculum, the party of the antipope were greatly elated by the arrival in their midst of three gorgeously attired envoys from the Eastern Emperor. It would appear that Benzo had already been trying to effect an alliance with the Greeks against the Normans,⁵ through the agency of Pantaleon, patricius of Amalfi.⁶ At any rate, besides carefully discussing the situation, the

¹ "Benzo cum senatoribus Romanis, associatis sibi principibus Galerianis," ii. 9.

² *Annales Rom.*, Bonizo, Benzo, *Catal.*

³ "Tunc temporis dictus Cencius tenebat castrum S. Angeli." *Ann. Rom.* Cf. Donizo, *in vit. Ma. h.*, c. 18; Leo Ost., *l.c.*, and *Ann. Alt. maj.*, 1062.

⁴ *L.c.*, ii. 10.

⁵ Benzo, ii. 7.

⁶ *Vide supra*, p. 249.

ambassadors are credited by Benzo with having handed to Cadaloüs the following letter: "To the patriarch of Rome, by royal charter raised over the universal Church, Constantine Doclitius (Ducas), basileus of Constantinople, health." The emperor expressed his desire of forming an eternal friendship with the young Henry with the double object of their together striving for the recovery of the Lord's sepulchre, and for the expulsion of the Normans. As a guarantee of his good faith he offered to put his son as a hostage into the hands of the king, and to place his treasury at his disposal.¹

But the joy of Cadaloüs on hearing the contents of this epistle was quickly damped, not only by his receiving another stinging letter² from St. Peter Damian, but by the arrival on the scene of Godfrey of Tuscany with a large army (c. May). Pitching his camp by the Ponte Molle, he commanded both Alexander and Cadaloüs to cease their contentions for the Papacy, and to retire to their respective bishoprics, till such times as the king and the Empress Agnes should pass an authoritative decision on their claims.³ Though convinced that Godfrey was acting in the interests of his opponent,⁴ Cadaloüs could not resist. His money was exhausted, and his mercenary followers were falling away from him.⁵ He had to return

¹ Benzo, ii. 12. Delarc (ii. 174) regards this letter as apocryphal, from the form of its address: "Basileus of *Constantinople*," etc. Under the circumstances, however, it would seem more likely to have been tampered with than wholly forged.

² I. 21. Writing about the same time to the bishop of Firmo, he bewails the harm which the advancing alienation of the empire from the Papacy is causing: "Ad ecclesiastici status universale periculum ab invicem sacerdotium imperiumque resiliunt." Ep. iv. 9.

³ *Annal. Alt. maj.*, 1062.

⁴ This seems clear not only from Bonizo, but from Benzo (ii. 13, 15 and 28) also.

⁵ *Ann. Rom.*: "Pecunia deficiente, comites reversi sunt ad propria; Cadolus vero reversus est in Parma."

to Parma as well as he could, while Godfrey escorted Alexander to Lucca.¹

Kaisers-
werth,
April 1062.

Godfrey's action on this occasion was but one act of a conspiracy to bring to an end the existing regency in Germany. He was in touch with Anno of Cologne,² and other ecclesiastics who were jealous of the power possessed in the councils of the empress-regent by Henry, bishop of Augsburg, and with Otho, duke of Bavaria, and other lay nobles who were equally envious of the favoured bishop, and who bore uneasily the yoke of a female ruler. By a clever ruse the malcontents contrived to possess themselves of the person of their youthful sovereign at a place on the Rhine where now stands the town of Kaiserswerth. He was at once conveyed up stream to Cologne by the boat into which he had been entrapped.³

The diet of
Augsburg,
Oct. 27.

There was considerable excuse for Anno's share in this affair, if it be the fact that he had been named by the emperor "the guardian of the kingdom and of his son."⁴

¹ "Ad Lucam deduxit hominem perditionis" (Alexander). Benzo, ii. 13.

² "Adgressus est subvertere regale curiam. . . . Itaque peciit Annan (so he calls Anno, after the high priest Annas), non primum, sed Agrippinum, et . . . cum prædicto Anna rapuit puerum regem de gremio matris." Benzo, ii. 15.

³ Lambert of Hersfeld (*Annal.* 1062) gives the fullest account of this unworthy transaction. Cf. *Triumphus S. Remacii*, i. 2; and Bonizo and *Cod. A.*, ap. Watterich, i. 260.

⁴ *Gesta Trever.* (c. 9), written at the very beginning of the twelfth century, ap. *M. G. SS.*, viii. "Anno . . . quem provisorem regni et tutorem filii sui Heinrichi, Heinrichus moriens reliquerat." It is very hard to decide how Anno behaved towards his royal ward. Some contemporary authors unfavourable to the king say Anno tried to bring him up well, while others favourable to him say the opposite. Representing the former we have Bruno, who writes: "Eumque (the youthful monarch) cum omni diligentia, sicut decebat imperatoriam prolem, non tam regi quam regno prospiciens, nutrire curavit." *De bello Saxonico*, c. 1. The author of Henry's biography quoted below (p. 289, n. 4) declares, on the contrary, that Henry's education was wholly neglected.

At any rate, he was now master of the situation. Nicholas II., against whom he had had a personal dislike,¹ was dead, and Cadaloüs was the nominee of the party of the empress. And, as the archbishop at once replaced her chancellor of Italy, Guibert, by Gregory, bishop of Vercelli, policy, at least, if not conscience, dictated to him² the advisability of supporting Alexander. It was decided to hold a great diet at Augsburg in October. St. Peter Damian prepared the way for this assembly's passing a judgment in favour of Alexander by the arguments which he set down in his *Disceptatio synodalis*, and with which the reader has already been made familiar.

It is very unfortunate that but few facts with regard ^{Its} to the diet of Augsburg have been transmitted to us. ^{decision.}

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 254.

² Bowden's estimate of Anno's character is much nearer the truth than that of Montalembert. In his seizure of Henry he "was probably influenced in the accomplishment of it by motives more pure, or, at least, less selfish than were those of his coadjutors. His temper was passionate, and he was deeply infected with the general rapacity of the clerical body in that age; but he at the same time possessed, if we may judge from the representations of contemporary writers, a sincerity of character which should incline us to believe that in adopting the line which he did, he was mainly actuated by the desire of promoting the welfare of his country." *Gregory VII.*, vol. i. 239. Cf. the *Annals of Altaich*, an. 1062, "Quoniam episcopus tunc palatio præsidens justiciæ studebat, etiam res publica florescere incipiebat," and Damian, Ep. iii. 6. On the comparative excellence, at least, of the virtue and political ability of Anno there is a considerable amount of agreement among modern writers. After his death he was regarded as a saint. A poem in the vernacular, one of the very best of its time, and written probably at the close of the reign of Henry IV., has immortalised his name. It praises "Cologne, the most beautiful of all the cities of Germany," for having had as its chief "the most virtuous man whom the Rhine has ever beheld upon its banks." Among his predecessors he shone "as an amethyst in a beautiful ring," and, "while to the great and powerful he was as a lion, he was like a peaceful lamb to the lowly and unfortunate. He was blessed by the widow and by the orphan." Cf. *Légende d'Anno*, ap. Eichhoff, *Tableau de la littérature du Nord*, p. 199 ff., Paris, 1853.

Besides a number of German and Italian bishops and nobles, there were present at it Anno and his *protégé*, King Henry, as well as, probably, Godfrey of Tuscany. The more conscientious among the bishops seem to have felt themselves in the same awkward position as did many of their successors in the Great Schism of the West. They realised that the case seemed to be one of disciples sitting in judgment on their master,¹ and would appear to have come to a decision that was rather practical than theoretical in its nature. This would seem the most satisfactory inference from a comparison of what actually took place immediately after the diet, viz., the restoration of Alexander, with the fact of the legality of his election being rediscussed at the council of Mantua.² It is true St. Peter Damian³ says that Cadaloüs was "condemned and deposed" at Augsburg, but the statement cannot be said to be more than practically correct. The better informed Annals of Altaich give it as the decree of the assembly "that he who had been consecrated (Pope) should again return to the Apostolic See, until such times as a canonical and synodal decision should definitely rule whether he was to retain it or to be deposed from it." And they add, "Alexander returned to Rome not long after this."⁴

Alexander
returns to
Rome,
1063

Anno's nephew, Burchard of Halberstadt, was meanwhile commissioned by the diet to proceed to Rome and to satisfy himself regarding the truth of what had been alleged for and against Alexander's election.⁵ Burchard's

¹ "Episcopis nec justum nec facile videbatur, discipulos judicare magistrum." *Ann. Alt. maj.*, 1061. These annals seem to have confused the diets of Basle and Augsburg.

² Benzo, iii. 26.

³ *Opusc.* 18, c. 8.

⁴ *Ann. Alt. maj.*, 1063.

⁵ "Mittitur episcopus Halberstatensis . . . qui utrarumque partium allegationes audiret et vice cæsaris et principum juste exinde judicaret. Is Romam veniens . . . Alexandri electionem ratam esse firmavit."

declaration that he had been properly elected was followed early in the year 1063 by his restoration to Rome under the escort of Duke Godfrey.¹

In accordance with ancient custom, Alexander ordered ^{Easter synod.} a synod to meet soon after Easter (April 20). Over a hundred bishops answered to his summons. The first matter which occupied the attention of the assembly was the aggression of Cadaloüs. Examination soon showed that he had endeavoured to obtain possession of Rome, "the mother of the churches," both by gold and steel. And as he had neither come himself nor sent a representative to plead his cause, it was unanimously decided to declare him excommunicated. The synod next turned itself to the work of reform, and published twelve canons against simony, whether on the part of priests or people, against clerical and lay concubinage, against marriage within the forbidden degrees of kindred,² and against laics taking orders without due preparation in the clerical body. To help the observance of these decrees, the faithful were forbidden to hear the Mass of a priest who did not obey the decrees of the Church with regard to clerical chastity.³

Ann. Alt. maj., 1061. What the annalist of Altaich here refers to 1061 no doubt belongs to 1062-63. *Cf.* the letter (ep. 10) of Alexander to Burchard granting him various privileges for the conscientious manner in which he had discharged his mission. It is dated April 13 from the Borgo S. Quirici (Tuscany). *Cf.* Jaffé, 4498 (3383). Bonizo and *Cod. A* (ap. Watterich, i. 260) assign to Anno personally this investigation, which was really made by his nephew under his direction.

¹ Such is even Benzo's admission: "Ad Italiam se contulit Godefredus; quasi ex jussione regis ad regiam urbem Asinelmum reportavit, Normannos Romam venire faciens socios et amicos rei publicæ appellavit" (ii. 15). *Cf.* ep. Damiani, iii. 6, and what Lambert of Hersfeld confusedly states under the years 1063 and 1064.

² These were most wisely defined to extend to the seventh degree, or indeed to any degree in which relationship could be proved, "quousque parentela cognosci poterit." Can. 9. What misery would be spared mankind if only this decree were universally enforced!

³ Ep. 12, Alex. *Cf.* epp. 92 and 112; *Annal. Alt. maj.*, 1063.

Cadaloüs
again
attacks
Rome,
May 1063.

This action of the Lateran synod with regard to Cadaloüs would seem to have galvanised his party into new life. Gathering together "what bishops and clerics he could at Parma," the antipope declared that he was the true Pope, inasmuch as "he had been elected and installed by the king as patricius of the Romans," and he anathematised Alexander, who, he maintained, had not been canonically elected by the Roman clergy and people, but fraudulently by the Normans, "the enemies of the Roman Empire."¹

Then, after he had gathered together a large sum of money, which he scattered freely in all directions,² he again marched on Rome. Contriving to elude the troops stationed by Duke Godfrey to watch him,³ he succeeded in surprising the Leonine City by night, "with the aid of the *capitanei* and certain pestiferous Romans."⁴ Compelled, however, to abandon it on the following day, he took refuge with Cencius in the castle of St. Angelo,⁵ for both it and Johannipolis were in the hands of Alexander's enemies.⁶

Has to
withdraw,
1064.

Once again the streets of Rome resounded with the notes of battle, and its great buildings re-echoed the fierce battle-cry, War! War! of the Normans, whom Hildebrand had again summoned to Alexander's assistance. Though they failed to carry the castle of St. Angelo by assault,

¹ *Ann. Alt.*, 1063. Cf. Benzo, ii. 14.

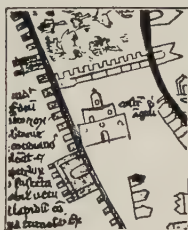
² *Ann. Romani*, "Et congregata pecunia, reversus est Rome (sic); set nichil ey profuit." Cf. Bonizo, *Cod. Vat. A*, and Damian, *Opusc.* 56, c. 8, ap. *P. L.* t. 145.

³ Benzo, ii. 16.

⁴ Bonizo. Cf. *Cod.* and Benzo.

⁵ *Ib.* Cf. ep. 19, in which, speaking of Cadaloüs at this time, Alexander writes: "Proprii nominis etymologiam . . . intelligens ad reparandam pecuniam, in periculum capitis sui a fautoribus suis distributam, cujusdam turris præsidio gemebundus servatur."

⁶ Benzo, ii. 15. He calls the latter: "S. Pauli munitionem" or "opidum Pauli."



Cod. Vat. 1600.



Livre d'heures du duc de Berry
Plan de Taddeo di Bartolo



Ditramondo
Bibl. Nat. Fonds It. 81



Vuc de Rome
pub. par Geoffroy (1445).



Bas-relief de la porte de bronze
de Saint-Pierre (1440)



Cosmog. de Ptolemée (1472)



Plan de Redi (1473).



Plan de Schedel (Nuremberg, 1493.)



Plan de Mantoue

The Castle of Saint Angelo as it appears in plans of different ages.
(From Rodocanachi, *Le château Saint-Ange*.)

they succeeded, with the help of Godfrey, in reducing Cadaloüs to extremities. It was in vain that Benzo appealed to the Greeks, and visited Germany on his behalf. He obtained nothing but words.¹ Even Cencius wearied of fighting for the antipope, who was at length compelled to give his host three hundred pounds of silver, and to take his departure in secret from the castle. He reached Berceto in the early part of the year 1064.²

It appeared to many in Rome that the only way to put an end to these unseemly conflicts was to obtain from the German Court a formal declaration as to the legitimacy of the election of Alexander or of his rival. An embassy was accordingly dispatched to Germany to make these views known.³ About the same time, St. Peter Damian, who was on a mission in France, and who was always strongly, if unreasonably, opposed to clerics supporting their rights by arms, wrote to Archbishop Anno in order to induce him to complete the work begun at Augsburg. To put an end to the evil which was being wrought by Cadaloüs, "the devil's herald and the apostle of Antichrist," he adjured him to cause the assembling of a general council as soon as possible, so that the thorns which were troubling the wretched world might be eradicated.⁴

The synod
of Mantua,
May 1064.

¹ For numerous details and speeches more or less trustworthy see Benzo, ii. 15-18; and iii. 1-27. Cf. ep. 19 Alex., written towards the close of 1063.

² Bonizo and *Cod. A.* When Bonizo speaks of the antipope's being besieged for *two years*, he must mean for part of 1063 and of 1064.

³ *Ann. Alt. maj.*, 1064; *Ann. Laureshamenses*, 1064, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxi.

⁴ Ep. iii. 6. This letter, of the contents of which apparently they had only heard in an inexact manner, brought down upon the saint not only a paternal expression of disapproval from Alexander, but a sharp reproof from "his holy Satan (adversary)," Hildebrand. They were evidently under the impression that he had compromised the independence of the Holy See. See Damian's letter of apology addressed to both of them. Ep. i. 16.

The king and his advisers accordingly decided to hold a synod at Mantua, "where both Popes, if it be right to use such a phrase, along with the German, Roman, and Lombard bishops, might meet together."¹ The synod was fixed for the feast of Pentecost; "and although," as Bonizo notes,² "the proceeding was derogatory to the dignity of the Roman Pontiffs, nevertheless, seeing that it was a case of hard necessity," Alexander not only agreed to be present at the assembly, but actually summoned it himself.³

On the appointed day a great many important personages met at Mantua, and were received with the greatest honour by the Countess Beatrice.⁴ In the first place came Pope Alexander, "who ever strove to comply with the canons";⁵ then Archbishop Anno, with a number of German bishops and nobles; and, finally, "innumerable" bishops, abbots, and princes "from all parts of Italy."

Cadaloüs, who had promised to present himself at the synod, failed to do so, but took up a position close at hand, with a number of armed men (*cum ingenti multitudine*), at Aqua nigra. Hence he sent to Anno to say that he would not come to the assembly unless he were allowed to be its supreme president. Of this impertinent announcement the king's representatives (*cæsarei nuncii*) took no notice, as they regarded Alexander as at least Pope *de facto*.⁶ Thus rebuffed, Cadaloüs contented himself with sending a number of spies into the city, in order that he might be kept well informed as to what went on.

The first session of the synod was held in the church on

Its first
session.

¹ *Ann. Alt., l.c.*

² *Ad amicum*, l. vi.

³ "Apud Mantuam synodum convocavit." *Cod. A.*

⁴ Benzo, iii. 27.

⁵ "Quoniam regulis ecclesiasticis in omnibus semper obedire studuit (Alexander)." *Ann. Alt., ib.*

⁶ "Qui jam papa erat." *Ib.*

Whit-Monday, and it was obvious that there was considerable difference of opinion amongst its members.¹ However, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, when all had taken their seats, Alexander addressed them on the need of peace and harmony, and then ordered (*jussit*) him to speak who had anything to say.² Thus adjured, Anno rose and said that it had come to the ears of the king that Alexander had been elected by simony, and had been maintained in his position by the Normans, enemies of the Roman Empire. To this Alexander is said by the annalist of Altaich, who professes to give his very words,³ to have made the following reply: "What truth there is in my accusers you may judge from this, that, unlike me, they have not dared to present themselves before this assembly. But to what has been alleged against me I am willing to make answer, not upon compulsion, but of my own accord; for all know that it is not the proper thing for disciples to accuse or to judge their masters. Hence, that God's Holy Church may not be scandalised through me, I call to witness the Holy Spirit, whose coming we are now celebrating, that my soul has never been stained with simony, and that I was duly installed in the chair of Peter quite against my will. And this was done by those who are acknowledged to have the right, according to the ancient custom of the Roman Church, of electing and consecrating the Pope. With regard to friendship with the Normans, there is no need that I should say anything. However,

¹ "Propter studia partium, quæ inter illos magna erant, diversi diversis favebant." *Ann. Alt., l.c.*

² *Ib.* Behold the vulgar terms in which Benzo (iii. 27) describes the speech of Alexander: "Baburrus Alexander in cathedra collocatur, et prout valebat baburrando eos de servitio Dei amonebat. Et cum diu multumque frendens blaterando verba perstreperet, nullusque balbutationem ejus intelligeret, Annas ammonuit esse cessandum."

³ *L.c.*, "Ut verbis ipsius utamur."

when the king, my son, comes to Rome to receive the imperial crown, he will be able to discover for himself what measure of truth there may be in what is said concerning it."

These simple words of Alexander were enough for the assembled prelates. They acclaimed him Pope, and intoned the *Te Deum*. Then, on the motion of the sovereign Pontiff, they unanimously condemned Cadaloüs.¹

Its second,
June 1.

Another session was held on the following day. Emboldened by the fact that for some reason Anno was not present at it, a number of armed supporters of the antipope burst into the church, denouncing Alexander as a heretic, and threatening to kill him. Most of the bishops fled in terror. But Alexander boldly kept his place, guided by the advice of the abbot of Altaich, Wenceslaus, who, says our annalist with ill-disguised contempt, knew well the ways of the Lombards, which were to threaten much more than they had the courage to accomplish. And so it happened on this occasion; for the opportune arrival of the Countess Beatrice with her soldiers caused an instantaneous resumption of order.

After two more sessions, and after he had conferred certain privileges on the bishop of Mantua,² Alexander returned to Rome by way of Lucca, and was acknowledged by all.³

The end of
Cadaloüs,
c. 1071.

Though now almost universally discredited, Cadaloüs in his retirement continued to style himself Pope, and ceased not till the hour of his death issuing decrees as though he were the supreme Pontiff,⁴ and constituting himself a centre of disaffection.⁵ He died either at the close of the year

¹ *Ann. Alt., l.c.*

² Jaffé, 4553.

³ *Ann. Alt., l.c.* Cf. Bonizo, *Cod. A*, and Benzo (iii. 29). "Badaculus (Alexander) equidem reversus ad Laterani sedem, gloriabatur se illam vicisse per legem. Continuo universi properant ad eum tamquam pisces ad vivaria."

⁴ Lambert, an. 1064.

⁵ Cf. Damian, ep. vii. 3.

1071 or at the beginning of 1072.¹ And while on the walls of the Lateran there was to be read an inscription to the effect that Alexander reigns, whilst Cadaloüs falls,² in Parma inscriptions were erected in which the positions of the two were reversed. An ancient sepulchral epitaph found by Affò, and composed as an address to Rome, set forth that Parma in tears had interred in a narrow tomb her duly elected Pope. With him as her ruler she would with great power have won back the honours of the world for the Apostolic See. The Normans would have been expelled, and Apulia and Calabria would have been freed from the servitude in which they are now lying; while Rome, the head of the world, would have set her foot upon the haughty. But, as it was, unhappy in the ruler she retained, she acted against the one who conquered her, strong as she was, but who, with her, would have subdued the world for her, had long enough life been granted him.³

According to Rangerius, it was in prison that Cadaloüs expiated the crimes of his life by his death.⁴

If the coming of Anno to Italy had been advantageous to Alexander, it was not so to the archbishop himself. His absence from the court had been utilised by his rivals. It was only natural that Henry should remember that Anno had taken the principal part in the outrage which had been put upon him at Kaiserswerth, and he had found him a more severe mentor than he wished to have. He,

Anno loses
influence
at court,
1064.

¹ Jaffé, i. 594.

² "Regnat Alexander, Kadolus cadit et superatur," ap. *Anon. Zwettlensis* (end of twelfth century).

³ Affò's *Storia di Parma*, ii. 330, ap. Watterich, i. 268.

"Papam, Roma, tuum Cadalum tibi rite statutum
Parma dolens tumulo condidit exiguo.

Quo pastore potens reparares orbis honores.

Culmen et excelsæ Sedis Apostolicæ," etc.

⁴ Ap. Colucci, p. 38

therefore, favoured the advances of another who left him more to himself and his passions; and when Anno returned to Germany,¹ he found that his place had been taken by the able and aspiring Adalbert,² archbishop of Bremen, of whose splendid ambition mention has already been made.³ The empress-mother Agnes returned to court; but such influence for good as she exercised over her wayward son was more than neutralised by that which the young dissolute Count Werner exerted over him in an opposite direction.

Henry
comes of
age, 1065.

To increase his influence over the youthful Henry, the *patriarch* of Hamburg-Bremen, for so Adalbert loved to be called,⁴ caused him to be proclaimed of age when he was only fifteen years old⁵ (March 29, 1065).

The influ-
ence of
Adalbert.

One result of the advent of Adalbert to power would seem to have been that encouragement was again given to Cadaloüs by the German Court.⁶ This action called forth a strong letter from St. Peter Damian to "Henry, son of the emperor Henry (II.) III., king of the Romans." In prophetic language he warned him that the man who should divide the Church would be himself divided; he suggested that the empire's treatment of the Roman Church was perhaps the reason of the losses it was sustaining at the hands of the Normans and others; and he exhorted him to let the force

¹ Delarc, ii. 462.

² Cf. Lambert, 1063, along with the notes of Holder-Egger.

³ Cf. vol. v., p. 262 f., of this work, and *supra*, 72 f. On the character of Adalbert, see. Bowden, i. 240; Declarc, ii. 463 ff.

⁴ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, iii. 38.

⁵ Lambert, 1065; Bertholdi *Ann.*, 1065, etc.

⁶ "Quidam . . . tui aulici ministerii dispensatores . . . de persecutione Romanæ gratulantur ecclesiæ, utrique silicet parti faventes, ut modo se venerabilis papæ fautores per assentationis lenocinium asserant, modo primogenito Satanæ falsi successus læta promittant." Damian, Ep. vii. 3. This letter, like most of those of the saint, is undated, and so it is not certain that it refers to this epoch.

of his wrath fall upon Cadaloüs, that enemy of man's salvation, that sink of vices, that fuel of hell.¹

This letter was not without its effect on the king's council, and an expedition into Italy was decided upon. Owing, however, it would appear,² to the diplomatic manœuvres of Adalbert, it was first postponed, then abandoned altogether. And, despite his own wishes, Alexander was, as we shall see, forced to endeavour to strengthen the papal alliance with the Normans.

Though fortune-tellers, in whom he trusted, had assured Adalbert that he would be the head of the government for a long time, a coalition of his enemies brought about his fall as early as the beginning of the year 1066. The party of Anno once again became all-powerful in the realm; and while archbishops and dukes contended for the chief place in his kingdom, the young king was made to remain a mere cipher in its government,³ but was allowed to become an adept in "every ignoble vice."⁴

With a view to putting a term to the growing licentiousness of their youthful monarch, his councillors insisted on his marrying Bertha, the daughter of Adelaide, countess

Fall of
Adalbert,
Jan. 1066.

Marriage
of Henry,
1066.

¹ Damian, Ep. vii. 3.

² From a letter of Anno to Alexander, discovered by Floss, *Die Papstwahl unter die Ottonen*, Freiburg, 1838. Cf. Giesbrecht, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit*, iii. 1242, ed. 4; both ap. Delarc, ii. 479, 489.

³ Cf. the curious document known as the *Triumphus S. Remacki*, i. c. 15, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi., or *P. L.*, t. 149, written by Godfrey, who was at this period provost of Stablo or Stavelo. Its author is an uncompromising opponent of Anno.

⁴ Cf. the anonymous author of the *Life*, or panegyric rather, of Henry IV. "Fuit hæc perfidia vel maxima, quod eum quasi sub sigillo servandum in puerilibus actis suæ potestati relinquebant, ut et sic elicerent ab eo quod affectabant." *Vit. Henrici IV.*, c. 2, ed. Eberhard, Hanover, 1899. The *Life* was written soon after Henry's death, and, like Eginhard's biography of Charlemagne, is full of phrases borrowed from Sallust. Cf. what Henry himself says of his early life to Gregory VII. *Reg. Greg. VII.*, i. 29 a.

of Turin, to whom his father had long before caused him to be betrothed. The ceremony was accordingly gone through at Tribur, July 13, 1066; but for many months Henry refused to consummate the marriage. Although Bertha was amiable and beautiful, and, as the sequel abundantly proved, loved her husband, he conceived the greatest dislike to her—partly, no doubt, because pressure had been put upon him in the matter by Anno.

Troubles in
Germany.

The history of the early years of the reign of King Henry IV. furnishes an admirable illustration of the truth that it is an evil thing for a nation to have a child-ruler. During that period the whole of Germany was kept in a turmoil by the unchecked self-seeking of its chief men. Whilst Anno's nepotism was causing, as one of its results, the violent death of one of his nephews,¹ a bishop-elect, the quarrels of Adalbert with Magnus, duke of Saxony, were ending in the ruin of his diocese, in an outburst of paganism, and in his own great humiliation.²

In their struggles for influence the heads of the various parties strove to secure the support of the Pope. There is still extant a letter to Alexander from Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz or Mayence, in which he begs "his paternity, inasmuch as he is the crown of their kingdom, and the diadem of the whole Roman Empire, ever to have his son, their sovereign lord Henry, in his good memory, and with apostolic constancy to continue, as he has done in the past, to support him with his advice and help till he secure the imperial crown."³ The part soon to be taken by

¹ Lambert, 1066. Cf. epp. of Anno himself, etc., in Giesebrecht, *Lc.*, pp. 1244, 1245, ap. Delarc, ii. 485, 486. Anno tried in vain to induce the Holy See to punish the crime which his nepotism had brought about.

² Adam of Bremen, iii. 47 ff.

³ "Vestram exoramus paternitatem, ut, quia regni nostri estis corona et tocius Romani imperii diadema, filii vestri domini mei regis Henrici

Siegfried in the affair of the king's divorce throws light on this *rapprochement* between Henry and the archbishop of Mainz.

Whilst the German king was passing his time in gratifying his passions, Italy was slipping away from the empire. Godfrey of Tuscany was much more powerful there than was the Franconian Henry. To reassert imperial influence in the peninsula, it was again decided that the king should lead an expedition into it, and with that object he came to Augsburg (February 2, 1067). But most of the great princes of the empire had their own ends to work out in Germany. Knowing that he would not be loath to return to his pleasures, they easily persuaded Henry that his ideas on the subject were those of a boy, and that he had better go back himself to Saxony, and send an embassy into Italy instead.¹ It seems to have been the intention of the princes that Duke Godfrey should accomplish this mission. But, as we shall see later,² he chose to work (1067) rather for his own interests and those of the Papacy than for those of the empire.

German
embassy to
Rome,
1067.

Accordingly, in the following year (1068), Anno of Cologne, Bishop Henry of Trent, and Otho, duke of

semper in bono meminisse dignemini; et sicut ei hactenus consilio et auxilio cum vera fide affuistis, ita cum eo usque ad coronam imperii apostolica constantia persistatis." Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 59. The letter belongs to the close of 1066 or the beginning of 1067. He speaks to the same effect in another letter sent soon after the one just cited. Ap. *ib.*, p. 61. The latter letter was written in a specially respectful manner, as Siegfried was trying—to no purpose, as it proved—to induce the Pope to help him in his efforts to obtain certain tithes from the Thuringians. In a letter (*ib.*, p. 63) to Hildebrand written in the like intent he flatteringly asks: "Quis enim tantum virum possit non diligere? Quis ei quicquam audeat denegare?"

¹ *Ann. Alt.*, an. 1068. Cf. *Ann. Augustani* and *Ann. Weissenb.*, 1067, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 304 f. We are here following the suggestions of Dupréel, *Godefroid*, c. x.

Bavaria, entered Italy in their sovereign's name, and at once incurred the displeasure of the Pope by freely holding intercourse with Cadaloüs and with his equally excommunicated partisan, Henry, archbishop of Ravenna. Another reason that made Alexander disposed to treat Anno coldly was that he had been informed that he was aiming at the Papacy;¹ and he was, moreover, annoyed at the way in which, despite his prohibition, he was harrying the monks of Stavelo or Stablo.² Hence, when the ambassadors reached Rome, Alexander for some time refused to see them. However, after they had humbly offered satisfaction,³ the Pope granted them indeed a hearing, but apparently refused to conform at least to all their wishes, and, taking up a firm stand, bade them lay his views before the king.⁴

Growing
tension
between
Germany
and Italy.

How far the embassy was successful in impressing upon the people of Italy the power of Germany, or the advantage or necessity of union with it, may be gathered from what the Annals of Altaich tell us of the return of the ambassadors.

Instead of going back to Germany with the bishops, Otho of Nordheim, duke of Bavaria, remained behind, "as though to treat with the princes of Italy on its affairs. With a great multitude of Italians, Duke Godfrey went to

¹ See Anno's indignant denial of this charge in the letter he wrote to Alexander which has already been cited.

² Cf. the first book of the *Triumphus*, especially cc. 19, 21, and 22.

³ The author of the *Triumphus S. Remacii* (i. 22) would have us believe that the humiliation of the archbishop extended to walking barefoot. "Igitur ex *senatus consultu* jubetur ob hoc (communicating with Cadaloüs) arceri a conspectu papæ totiusque Romani concilii, nisi publica satisfactione purgaret offensam quam commiserat contra jus honoremque vicarii Petri ap. Pro qua re ille consultus, pro delicto . . . nudis pedibus procedit in publicum."

⁴ "Dimissis illis, mandat regi que voluit." *Ann. Alt., l.c.* Cf. *Triumphus, ib.*

meet him on the plains round Piacenza. When, however, Otho attempted to enter upon business, the Italians, moved by their pride, and, as it were, inborn hatred of the Germans, refused to give him a hearing, shouted him down, and compelled him to depart without accomplishing anything."¹

Another matter to which Henry and his advisers failed to induce the Pope to agree was his wish to divorce Bertha. Henry
would
divorce
Bertha. Whether because she had in a sense been forced upon him, or because he objected to the restraints of married life,² or because he had taken a personal dislike to her, he desired to procure a divorce from her. It was in 1069 (June), and to Siegfried of Mainz (Mayence), that Henry first opened his mind on the subject, and, according to a conjecture of Lambert, offered to force the Thuringians to pay him the tithes, if he would help him to attain his end.³ When, by whatever means, he had secured the adhesion of the archbishop to his base designs, he began to speak publicly of his relations to Bertha with much the same loathsome hypocrisy as our own Henry VIII. spoke of his towards Catherine of Aragon. He had no fault to find with her, but could no longer keep from men that "by what judgment of God he knew not," he could not live with his wife, and that he had never treated her as such.⁴ It was accordingly decided to hold a synod on the matter at

¹ *Ann. Alt., l.c.*

² This would seem not unlikely, as just before the embassy to Rome of 1067 he appears to have suffered from the disorders that overtake the libertine: "Qui (rex) morbo invalescente in secretioribus locis naturæ, per singula momenta clamabat exanimari nimia pressus doloris gravedine." *Triumphus*, i. 16.

³ *Annal.*, 1069. Cf. *Ann. Alt.*, 1069. "Inlicitis namque concubinarum amplexibus adhærere solebat et idcirco reginam, quam consortem regni legaliter duxerat, penitus abjicere cogitabat. Auxit hanc ejus iniquam voluntatem episcopi Mogontini confortatio," etc.

⁴ If we are to believe Bruno (*De bello Saxonico*, c. 7), he even went so far as to lay a vain trap to ensnare her virtue. She had her first child (Conrad) in August 1071.

Mainz in the week following the feast of St. Michael. Meanwhile the queen was relegated to the abbey of Lorsch.¹

Siegfried writes to the Pope on the divorce question.

Whether because he hoped to beguile Alexander into sanctioning his action, or because he feared the consequences if he did not communicate so important a matter to him, Siegfried forwarded to him a garbled account as to what had taken place up to that moment regarding the projected divorce. He pretended that he had opposed the king's wishes in the matter until both king and queen had assured him that she was incapable of becoming a mother; and he declared that nothing should be done without the Pope's authority.²

The practical reply of the Pope was to send the fearless and inflexible ascetic, St. Peter Damian, as his legate to the appointed synod.

The synod of Mainz.

Full of hope of a speedy release from the matrimonial bond, Henry had set out for Mainz (Mayence), when word was brought to him of the arrival in that city of the Pope's legate, and of the fact that he had already threatened to excommunicate Siegfried for the part he had taken "in this wicked attempt at separation."³ Made a coward by his conscience, and filled with bitter disappointment, the king was at first disposed to return to Saxony without presenting himself before the synod. It required all the persuasive powers of his friends to induce him to face the legate. It was pointed out to him that the attention of all was directed to the synod;⁴ that by his own command the

¹ *De bello Saxonico*, c. 7.

² For it is by the will of God "that all the greater and more difficult matters that arise in the Church have to be referred to the Roman Church as to the head." Ep. Siegfried, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, 64.

³ Lambert, *l.c.*

⁴ "Grandis erat multorum admiratio, et, quid inde futurum esset, stupens expectatio." *Ann. Alt.*

great ones of the empire would assemble at Mainz, and that he must meet them. However, when he reached Frankfort, he gave orders that the gathering should be held in that city instead.

The synod was accordingly held there in the beginning of October (1069), and it was soon evident that Henry had no case. Supported by justice, by the commission of the Pope, and by his own character, the authority of the legate was irresistible. The divorce was not to be. When the king had heard the princes of the empire express their adhesion to the words of the legate, and declare that the decision of the Roman Pontiff was just, "broken rather than convinced," he said, "he would bear as best he could a burden he could not lay down." Then, without waiting for the queen, he hurried back to Saxony with an escort of barely forty men. Bertha, however, regained her rights both as a queen and as a wife.¹

It would appear that St. Peter Damian utilised his stay in Germany to examine into the state of its Church. At any rate, in obedience to the Pope's summons, the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz and the bishop of Bamberg betook themselves to Rome in the beginning of the year 1070 to answer a charge of simony. The bishop of Bamberg extricated himself out of his difficulties, not by giving presents to the Pope, as Lambert suggests in one place,² but by perjury, as the same author shows in another place.³ The great archbishops, now humble enough before the Pope, were only permitted to return home after they had taken an oath never again to be guilty of the vice of simony.⁴

German
bishops
cited to
Rome,
1070.

The opposition which Siegfried and others offered after

¹ Lambert and *Ann. Alt.*: "Regina regali thoro rursus restituta."

² An. 1070.

³ An. 1075, ed. *in usum. schol.*, p. 205.

⁴ *Ib.*, an. 1070.

this to the simoniacal practices of King Henry shows that the spirit of the Gregorian reform was beginning to sink deep.¹

Adalbert of
Bremen
again in
power,
1069.

For a second time was a journey to Italy fatal to the ascendancy of Anno. No sooner did Henry see that he had fallen under the displeasure of the Pope than he recalled Adalbert of Bremen to manage the affairs of state.² But the brightness and brilliancy of the archbishop had departed, and left behind them only a senile cunning.³ He thought merely of acquiring wealth for his church, of leaving the king to work his will, and of avoiding coming into adverse contact with the magnates of the realm. He had no concern how badly the weak and helpless were treated either by himself or others. Of all his great powers, his ready speech alone did not desert him; so that at this declining period of his life it might have been said of him, as it was of an English king, viz., that he never said a foolish thing,⁴ and never did a wise one. But his end was near. He died on March 18, 1072.

Anno once
more re-
called to
office, 1072.

After what has been said of the last doings of Adalbert, the condition of things at his death may be easily imagined. Murmurs were loud and deep. The king was alarmed, and succeeded in inducing Anno to take up once more for the general good the reins of government.⁵ To help the

¹ Cf. Delarc, ii. 508-15.

² "Post triennium expulsionis suæ voti compos effectus, in pristinum gradum curiæ restitutus est." Adam of Bremen, iii. 58. Cf. Lambert, 1072.

³ "Impcs mentis effectus est." *Ib.*, 61.

⁴ "Talis ille circa finem, totus a se alteratus . . . quid vellet aut nollet, nec sibi nec ulli suorum poterat satis notum esse. Ceterum talis erat eloquentia ejus usque ad finem, ut si eum contionantem, facile tibi persuaderetur, omnia per illum fieri plena ratione magnaue auctoritate." *Ib.*

⁵ Lambert, 1072. The princes joined their entreaties to those of the king: "Superatus tamen unanimitate postulantium privatum commodum publico postposuit."

archbishop in his efforts to bring Henry to some sense of his duty, his mother left Italy, and came to add her exhortations to those of the new minister. It was all to no purpose. Roused for a time by the vigour of Anno's administration, Henry soon fell back, and continued his career of vice and folly, wantonly offending great and small alike.¹ Unable to check him, Anno begged to be allowed to retire and to apply himself exclusively to the affairs of his diocese. Henry was nothing loath, "and, as it were delivered from a most severe master, at once burst all the bonds of moderation and plunged headlong into every kind of wickedness"² (Christmas 1072).

There was, however, one firm barrier at least in his way, and against it he soon struck. It was the Holy See. His struggle with Hildebrand was about to begin. But the first blows in the deadly combat between the monarch and the Popes were struck by the dying hand of Alexander. In a Roman synod held in Lent a month or so before he died, he publicly excommunicated, at the request of the empress-mother Agnes, some of the king's advisers whose counsels were eminently calculated to lead to his being cut off from the communion of the Church.³ Ekkehard of Aura (Urach), indeed, goes much further. He pretends that Anno, who had gone to Rome to receive some moneys due to the king, returned with papal letters summoning Henry to Rome to answer the charges of simony and other crimes which had been lodged against him.⁴ These accusations, as we learn from the same author, had been preferred against him by the Saxons, whom he had been

Henry's
first en-
counter
with the
Holy See,
1073.

¹ Lambert, 1072. Cf. *Ann. Alt.*, ann. 1072, 1073.

² Lambert, 1073.

³ Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vi.

⁴ *Chron.*, an. 1073. "Litteras Alexandri . . . detulerunt (Anno and his party), regem vocantes ad satisfaciendum pro symoniaca hæresi aliisque nonnullis emendatione dignis, quæ de ipso Romæ fuerant audita."

fiercely oppressing.¹ Their statements of their wrongs had won over Siegfried of Mainz, and many others, and through them had enlisted the sympathy of the Pope. But it would seem more likely that in this instance Bonizo was more correct, and that it was Henry's counsellors and not himself who received the summons to present themselves before the Pope to answer for their iniquities. Still, whatever be the truth in the matter, it is evident that the power of the Papacy is beginning to make itself felt in the immediate vicinity of the king's person. It will not be long before it will fall upon him.

Affairs of
Italy.
i. Milan.

Now that we have sketched the relations between the empire and Pope Alexander to the day of his death, we may turn to other events in different parts of the Church with which he was connected.² It is only natural that we should begin with the affairs of Italy, and with those of one of its most important cities, Milan. The reform inaugurated in that city by St. Peter Damian³ was not final; but as long as the authority of Alexander hung in the balance, and papal interference was scarcely possible, Guido, its refractory archbishop, was content to acknowledge that Pontiff as head of the Church. No sooner, however, was his position rendered secure than he went over to the party of Cadaloüs. The Patarines, however, headed now by the deacon Arialdo and the knight Herlembald,⁴ who took the place of his deceased brother Landulf, resumed

¹ *Chron.*, an. 1072. "Non cessat gens Saxonum . . . accusationes blasphemias et inauditas ad sedem apostolicam in illum referre . . . indeque per ipsos (Siegfried, etc.) etiam papam Alexandrum sibi fautores (the above-named bishops and the Pope) efficiunt."

² We find him grieving that for many years he could scarce find time to attend to the affairs of the local Roman Church, much less to those of more distant ones. Ep. 37, p. 1317.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 233 ff.

⁴ As his affianced bride had been seduced by a cleric, he had a very personal interest in the struggle. Landulf, iii. 13, ed. *R. I. S.S.*

their old activity against the married clergy (1066). Herlembald had, when in doubt, been encouraged to attach himself to Ariald by Pope Alexander and the cardinals, "who gave him, in the name of St. Peter, a wondrous standard, that, when the storm of heresy raged furiously around him, he might, by holding his banner in his hand, be able to allay it."¹

As Guido showed himself false to the promises he had made to St. Peter Damian, and resumed his simoniacal practices,² Ariald sent Herlembald to Rome for instructions as to what should be done. Whilst he was away, party feeling was intensely aroused. On the one hand, the archbishop had persecuted two clerics who had given up their former mode of irregular living and had joined the Patarines,³ and, on the other, the latter had, in the name of the liturgical rites of the Church of Rome, attacked certain Ambrosian customs.⁴ This caused quite a popular commotion, and of this the archbishop made good use when Herlembald returned to Milan with a papal bull declaring him excommunicated.⁵ He declared that Milan had never obeyed the Roman Church, and called upon the people to do away with those who would destroy their

¹ Cf. *Vita S. Arialdi* (c. 4) by Andrew of Vallombrosa, the saint's disciple. Ap. *P. L.*, t. 143, p. 1456. Cf. Landulf, *ib.*, and c. 14. According to the latter historian, the standard was only granted through the influence of Hildebrand, "qui residens in palatio militiam Romanam quasi imperator regebat." Bitterly opposed as he is to the Patarines, he has given us a most eulogistic picture of the high-born Herlembald. He tells us (c. 13) that he was a soldier of conspicuous bravery, in war as stern as Cæsar, cool and ready in danger, and not given to many words; and he describes him as rather thin in the face, as possessed of an eagle eye, and, like the heroes of antiquity, wearing a red beard; finally, as of graceful form and displaying a shapely leg and foot: "cruribus decentissimis tibiis ac pedibus subtilissimis."

² *Vita Ariald.*, c. 6.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Cf. Landulf, c. 29; Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vi.

⁵ *Vita A.*, *ib.*; Arnulf, c. 18.

liberties.¹ No more was needed to inflame the passions of men. By the friends of the archbishop Ariald was attacked, and left for dead; and by the supporters of the deacon, Guido's palace was sacked, and himself nearly done to death.² But a lavish distribution of money provoked a general feeling against Ariald. He was compelled to fly from the city, was captured by the partisans of the archbishop, and put to death in a manner too horrible to be here described.³

Papal
legates in
Milan,
1067.

Such a crime could not long remain hidden, and Ariald conquered in death. His mutilated body was brought back in triumph to Milan (1067), and soon after two cardinals arrived there from Rome to restore peace and order to the distracted city (August). Their one object was to put a term to the factions whose terrible reprisals were causing such misery in the city.⁴ Hence, they said nothing about the death of Ariald, and, though they renewed the decrees which St. Peter Damian had issued (1059) regarding simony and clerical celibacy, they absolutely forbade those who had banded themselves together to eradicate those vices to proceed in the future by any measures of violence. They must act canonically, and denounce delinquents to the archbishop or the bishops.⁵ The legates would also seem to have allowed the excommunication of Guido to lapse, perhaps on condition that he should resign his office. For, on the one hand, we know that Hildebrand had declared that the only remedy for the sad state of affairs in Milan was the resignation of

¹ *Vita A.*, c. 6.

² *Ib.* and Arnulf, *l.c.*

³ *Vita A.*, c. 7, Arnulf, Landulf, and Bonizo.

⁴ "Qui (the Roman legates) dum apostolico præcepto pacem evangelizarent omnibus, consulte satis provident de nece Arialdi fœdus componere." Such is the statement even of Arnulf (iii. 19).

⁵ The record of this legation has come down to us. It may be read ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv. 32, or Mansi, *Concil.*, t. 19, etc.

Guido, and the canonical election of another archbishop, with the consent of the Holy See;¹ and, on the other, that he did actually resign about this time.²

But if the legates of the Holy See showed by their studied moderation that their one aim was the establishment of peace, the conduct of Guido evinced plainly either that the general good was of little concern to him, or that he had no idea of how to work for it. When he resigned his see, instead of committing the choice of his successor to the clergy and people of Milan, and giving the Holy See an opportunity of expressing its approval of their choice, he sent his crozier and ring to the king of Germany, and asked him to appoint as his successor a subdeacon of the name of Godfrey.³ He preferred to surrender the liberties of his church into the hands of the empire, rather than into those of the Papacy. Godfrey, who had schemed to secure his nomination by Guido, was equally successful with Henry, to whom he gave money, and a promise to destroy the Patarines.⁴ But though he was consecrated at Novara, Rome would have none of him, nor would the people of Milan. And even Guido, before he died (†August 23, 1071), abandoned him, and made his peace with the reform party.⁵

Resignation of Guido and its consequences.

All during the interval between the nomination of Godfrey and the death of Guido, active opposition was kept

Election of Otto, 1072.

¹ Arnulf, *l.c.*

² Bonizo, *l.c.* "Guido . . . pœnitentia ductus, depositis pontificalibus insigniis, privato vivebat scemate."

³ Arnulf, iii. 20; Bonizo, *ib.*; Landulf, iii. 17.

⁴ Bonizo says he had also given money to Guido. Gregory VII. thus describes the way in which Godfrey obtained the bishopric: "Qui, dum honorem ejusdem sedis nefandis affectaret desideriis, quod justitia sibi denegavit, sacrilega vi et armis invadere ac diripere non pepercit." Ep. iii. 8.

⁵ "Interea Wido fatebatur se Gotefredi delusum insidiis." Arnulf, *l.c.*

up towards the former by Herlembald. On the demise of the old archbishop, Herlembald put himself in communication with Rome, and it was decided to proceed to choose a new archbishop. Cardinal Bernard was sent from Rome to watch the election; and the party of the Patarines selected a young cleric of noble blood named Atto¹ (January 6, 1072). But he was scarcely elected before he was seized by the opposite faction, wounded, and compelled to swear that he would renounce the bishopric. He was, however, rescued by Herlembald, and his oath was declared null by the Pope. But, unable to maintain himself in Milan, he went to Rome, and though Gregory VII. took up his cause, he was never able to obtain his see, as King Henry supported a second intruder, Theobald, on the death of Godfrey.²

ii. The struggle for reform in other cities of Italy.

In many other cities of northern Italy besides Milan did their bishops resist the efforts of the Holy See to reform them, and many other cities³ witnessed tragic scenes, when a large section of the people seconded the zeal of Rome. But the event which made the greatest sensation was the *trial by fire* which took place at Florence to prove that its bishop, Peter of Pavia, was guilty of simony (February 1068). A monk passed unscathed between two blazing pyres, each ten feet long by four and a half wide, and separated only a foot or two from each other. This monk, since known from this fiery ordeal as *Peter Igneus*, afterwards became cardinal-bishop of Albano.⁴

¹ Arnulf, iii. 23.

² Greg., *Epp.*, iii. 8 and 9.

³ Cf. Bonizo, *l.c.*, ed. Jaffé, p. 649, for a letter of P. Alexander supporting the reforming party at Cremona.

⁴ The full story of this wonderful fact is given in Delarc, ii. 212 ff., and is vouched for by at least four contemporary writers—Andrew the disciple of St. John Gualbert, one of whose monks Peter Igneus was (*Vit. S. Joan.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146); Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. viii., sub fin.; Desiderius, *Dialogi*, l. iii., p. 1010 ff.; and Berthold, *Annal.*, 1067.

It will be readily understood that this uprising of the people against even worthless men in authority was not without its dangers. While many acted from the purest motives, and were well able to understand how to obey a properly constituted authority, and when an unlawfully imposed one might be resisted, many evil-minded men opposed the simoniacal bishops merely for the satisfaction of thwarting authority, and many, in ignorance, began to think that, if an official was personally wicked, he lost his powers and might be disobeyed with impunity. And so the cry was raised in Florence: "There is no Pope, no King, no Archbishop, and no Priest!" Hence, says the saint, who lets us know of this black side of the work of reform, "it is said that some thousand people, deceived by these childish sophisms, died without receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood."¹

The epoch of which we are writing will not have passed away before some at least of these "sophisms" put forward by the dangerous, because impractical, eloquence of Arnold of Brescia will have wrought a world of mischief.

In the north of Italy, then, many of the bishops on whom the Pope, in his efforts to effect a general reformation of morals, ought to have been able to rely, proved themselves his most bitter opponents. And, at the same time, in the south of Italy the Normans showed that their help could not be securely counted on by the Papacy, but that they were as ready to use their swords against it as for it, according as best suited their interests. Whilst Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger were securing their conquests in Apulia and Calabria, and were beginning to rend Sicily from the Saracens (1061), Richard of Aversa turned his arms northward. Capua fell completely under his sway in May 1062, and he made the fact that the Pope had accepted the

iii. The
Normans.

¹ *Opusc.* 30, c. 3, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145.

services of William of Montreuil,¹ who had shown himself a disobedient vassal, his excuse for invading his territory.

Taking no account of the fact that William had returned to his allegiance, and not considering the efforts Alexander had made to prevent William from repudiating his wife,² who was Richard's daughter, the Norman count seized Ceprano and advanced on Rome (1066).³ He had conceived the idea of making himself *Patricius* of the city,⁴ and ruling the Pope like the Alberics of the tenth century. It was to no purpose that Alexander, who had sent letters and messengers to ask Henry for help,⁵ threatened the advancing Normans with the vengeance of the German king. They had grown quite accustomed to treating him with contempt.⁶ This time, however, Henry was in earnest; for he wished to receive the imperial crown as well as to chastise the Normans.⁷ His host assembled at Augsburg in the early part of 1067. But whether because the German princes did not desire an Italian expedition, or because Henry's presence was required "in other parts of the empire,"⁸ or whether, more likely, because Duke Godfrey, who ought to have come to furnish the vanguard and to lead it into Italy, did not put in an appearance,⁹ the king disbanded his army.

¹ "Et va s'en Guillaume à lo aide de lo pape, et se faisoit servicial de S. Pierre, et promet de deffendre la Campaingue à la fidélité de la sainte Eclize." Aimé, vi. 1, ap. Delarc. Ordericus Vitalis twice states that William was even "the standard-bearer of the Church." *H. E.*, l. iii. c. 3 and c. 5.

² Ep. Alex. 104.

³ Lupus Protospata, *Chron.*, 1066.

⁴ "Ad Romæ jam se viciniam porrexisset, ipsiusque jam urbis patri-
ciatum omnibus modis ambiret." Leo Ost., iii. 25.

⁵ Aimé, vi. 9.

⁶ "Nordmanni . . . ignominiosas legationes et responsa regi . . . sæpe remittebant." *Ann. Alt. maj.*, 1067.

⁷ Aimé, *l.c.*, Leo Ost., iii. 25.

⁸ *Ann. Alt. l.c.*

⁹ Aimé and Leo, *l.c.c.* Cf. *supra*, p. 291.

But if the imperial viceroy in Italy¹ was not anxious to see Henry and his Germans in Rome, he was far from desirous that Norman influence in Rome should outweigh his own. Accordingly, collecting a large army, he marched to Rome with his wife and his step-daughter, the famous Matilda; for they were touched by the troubles of their Tuscan Pope² (May 1067). After a little fighting and some negotiation, the Normans surrendered their conquests, and secured the withdrawal of the duke by the payment of a large sum of money.³ "This," notes Bonizo, "was the first service which Matilda, the most excellent daughter of Boniface, was able to offer the Blessed Prince of the Apostles; but it was not long before the many gracious services which she rendered in the same direction merited for her the title of Daughter of Blessed Peter."⁴

Duke
Godfrey
attacks the
Normans.

Peace being thus effected between the Normans and the Pope, he was enabled, in company with Hildebrand and others, to go about among them, and remedy some of the wrongs they were everywhere perpetrating. One of those he was anxious to help was Alfano, archbishop of Salerno, a man whom Giesebrecht has pronounced to be worthy of the highest praise on many counts; for he was, he tells us, "a most fervent monk, a most zealous defender of ecclesiastical liberty, a most ardent lover of antiquity, and, for his age, a perfect grammarian."⁵ He was, moreover, a great friend and admirer of Hildebrand; and among his verses,⁶

The Pope
in S. Italy,
1067.

¹ "Dux Gotefridus . . . rege permittente . . . per fines Italos principatum administrabat." *Ann. Alt., l.c.* Cf. an. 1062.

² "Tristes inde satis Mathildis erantque Beatrix
Quæ sub Alexandro Papa stabant venerando."
(Donizo, *in vit. Math.*, c. 18.)

³ *Ann. Alt.*, 1067; Aimé and Leo Ost., *ll.cc.*

⁴ Bonizo, *Ad amic.*, l. vi. p. 653, ed. Jaffé.

⁵ *De litterarum studiis apud Italos*, p. 56, Berlin, 1845.

⁶ For his verses see *P. L.*, t. 147; Giesebrecht, *l.c.*; and Ozanam, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'hist. litt. de l'Italie*, p. 259 ff.

second to none of his time, there is a long poem in his honour. To Alfanus it seemed that Rome owed no more to the Scipios and to its other heroes than to Hildebrand, and that through him its ancient sway had returned.¹

Like so many others, Alfanus had been robbed by the Normans. William, one of the sons of Tancred, had taken violent possession of property belonging to the See of Salerno; and as before a synod held at Melfi (August 1, 1067) he refused to restore his ill-gotten goods, he was excommunicated. A short time afterwards, however, he and his followers restored them at Salerno and at Capua.²

The
Normans
in Sicily.

With the exception of another brief misunderstanding with Richard of Capua, brought about again apparently by William of Montreuil,³ Alexander maintained satisfactory relations with the Normans during the rest of his pontificate. Their successes were in many ways a gain to the Holy See, and occasionally brought it curious presents. In his Sicilian campaign, Roger had gained a decisive victory over the Saracens at the river Cerami near Trâina (1063). "The count realised that it was to God and St. Peter that he owed this great victory. Not to be ungrateful for so great a favour, he sent by Meledius four camels to Pope Alexander, who was then holding in Rome the place of St. Peter and governing with prudence the Catholic Church. Delighted much more at the victory over the infidels which God had granted than at the presents he had received, the

¹ "Roma quid Scipionibus
Cæterisque Quiritibus
Debit mage, quam tibi?
Cujus est studiis suæ
Nacta jura potentiae."

(Ap. Giesebrecht, p. 43.)

² Epp. 54 and 55.

³ Aimé, vi. 11 and 12.

Apostolicus, in virtue of his power and with his apostolic benediction, granted to the count, and to all who might assist in wresting Sicily from the infidel, and in the work of its lasting conversion, the remission of their sins, on the condition of their being sorry for them and avoiding them in the future.¹ He also sent them a standard, blessed by apostolic authority, that, full of confidence in St. Peter, they might fight against the Saracens with greater impunity."

If the reign of Alexander was to see the beginning of the end of Saracen rule in Sicily, it was to behold the complete termination of Byzantine authority in south Italy. The last period of Greek power in Italy began by their seizure of Bari (876); it was closed by its capture by the Normans in 1071. Less than a year after, the taking of Palermo by the same redoubtable warriors (January 1072) gave the deathblow to the Saracen sway in Sicily. The most important result of these exploits, as far as the Pope was concerned, was the return of south Italy and Sicily to his spiritual jurisdiction. Through the action of the Greek emperors Leo III. and his son Constantine Copronymous (741-775), "their churches had been reunited to the synod of Constantinople, seeing that the Pope and Old Rome is under the domination of the barbarians."² Through the action of the Norman rulers they again fell under the authority of Rome. In Sicily the speedy establishment of that authority was simple. The Saracens had destroyed

The end of
the Greek
dominion
in Italy,
1071.

¹ "Absolutionem de offensis, si resipiscentes in futurum caveant, comiti et omnibus qui in lucranda de paganis Sicilia et lucrata in perpetuum ad fidem Christi retinendo auxiliarentur, mandat." Malaterra, *Hist. Sic.*, ii. 33. Malaterra, at any rate, knew the conditions on which the Church grants a plenary indulgence.

² So wrote the Armenian monk Basil at the beginning of the ninth century, ap. Georg. Cypr., *Descriptio orbis Romani*, ed. Gelzer, p. 27. Cf. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 206 of this work.

all its episcopal sees by the end of the ninth century;¹ it was therefore merely a question of reconstituting them. But in south Italy the sees were in the hands of Greeks, and the Greek rite was in general use. Change, therefore, in these matters could in those districts only be effected by degrees. Where there was a large Latin population of Normans and Lombards, the Greek bishops and the Greek rite were replaced by Latin ones as the sees fell vacant; and thus in less than thirty years the four metropolitan and seven suffragan sees were completely Latinised.² But where the Greek population was numerous no immediate change was made. Hence we find that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were still many Greek bishops. Even as late as the sixteenth century the succession had not quite died out, and the Greek rite, protected by the Holy See, was still surviving in the seventeenth century. But the fourteenth century may be taken as the date of the fusion of the Greek and Latin races.³ Though, therefore, the power of the emperor of Constantinople and of its patriarch in south Italy and Sicily came to end in the eleventh century, and was replaced by the authority of the Pope and of the Norman kings, Greek influence did not cease to make itself felt there. Indeed, through the monastic foundations of the twelfth century it experienced quite a renaissance.⁴

Consecra-
tion of the
Church of
M. Cassino,
Oct. 1,
1071.

The change of rulers in south Italy is noticeable in the consecration of the new church at Monte Cassino. The eleventh century is justly regarded as the golden age of this glorious abbey, and Desiderius (1058-87), the most distinguished of its long line of abbots, as the *Leo X.* of the Gregorian renaissance. From the total renovation of

¹ Cf. Batiffol, *L'abbaye de Rossano*, p. ix.

² *Ib.*, p. xxiv.

³ *Ib.*, p. xxxvi.

⁴ Cf. Delarc, i. 244 ff.; Gay, *L'Italie mérid.*, p. 545 ff.

the buildings of the monastery which he effected, he is called its fourth founder. He naturally paid special attention to the church. To decorate it he brought from Rome columns, precious marbles, and other splendid architectural relics of imperial times; and from Lombardy, Amalfi, and especially from Constantinople, sculptors, mosaists, and painters.¹ When the church was finished, and its walls were all aglow with mosaics, and its pavement gay with slabs of coloured marbles arranged in geometrical patterns (*opus alexandrinum*), Desiderius begged the Pope to come and consecrate his new building. Alexander at once summoned all the bishops of Campania, the Principate (of Capua), *Apulia* and *Calabria*. In consequence of the summons of the Pope, there assembled in and around the abbey not only an enormous number of the nameless crowd, but all those who in that part have left their mark on the world. With the Pope were Hildebrand, St. Peter Damian, and other cardinals, ten archbishops, and over forty bishops, several of whom were from Greek sees.

¹ There was thus formed at Monte Cassino quite a school of artists, whose influence was felt far and wide, and whose work may still be seen and admired at La Trinità della Cava, S. Angelo-in-Formis (Capua), etc. "Ipse Romam profectus est . . . columnas, bases, ac lilia (epistylia), nec non et diversorum colorum marmora abundanter coemit . . . conductis peritissimis artificibus, tam Amalfitanis, quam et Lombardis." *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 28. "Legatos . . . Constantinopolim ad locandos artifices destinat, peritos utique in arte musiaria et quadrataria." *Ib.* 29. As to the school of art founded by Desiderius, Leo goes on to say that, as the art of working in mosaic had been lost to Italy for over 500 years (viz. from the time of the Ostrogoths), "ne sane id ultra Italiæ deperiret, studuit . . . plerosque de monasterii pueris diligenter eisdem artibus erudiri. Non autem de his tantum, sed et de omnibus artificis quæcumque ex auro, vel argento, ære, ferro, vitro, ebore, ligno, gipso vel lapide patrari possunt, studiosissimos artifices de suis sibi paravit." *Ib.* Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*Hist. of Painting*, i. 55) rightly call the statement about the loss of the art of the mosaist too sweeping, and only admit it so far as southern Italy is concerned.

With Richard, prince (or duke) of Capua, were the principal Norman and other princes of southern Italy, except Robert Guiscard, who was then besieging Palermo. The high altar—that of St. Benedict—was consecrated by the Pope himself, who granted to all who throughout the octave came to Monte Cassino and confessed their sins a full absolution.¹ The number of people who flocked to the abbey was such that its great resources were taxed to the utmost. But Benedictine hospitality rose to the occasion, “so that scarce one of that countless multitude could be found who did not declare that he had been supplied with all that he needed to eat.”²

¹ “Confessorum peccatorum absolutione concessa.” *Chron. Cas.*, iii. c. 31.

² *Ib.*, c. 30. The writer of these lines has proved by his own experience that, though the abbey has been despoiled of its property with almost unexampled ingratitude by the Italian government, everyone who even now visits Monte Cassino, that sweet cradle of Western civilisation, must make the same confession. On Desiderius and his doings, *cf.* Tosti, *Storia della badia di Monte-Cassino*, l. iii. The history of the successive churches of the abbey is told in the following inscription, which may be read over the door of the present church :—

Casinensem Ecclesiam,
 Quam, falsi numinis fano araque subversa,
 S. Benedictus anno DXXIX
 Vero Deo dicaverat,
 Quamque a Longobardis
 Italiam vastantibus eversam,
 A Petronace Abbate restitutam,
 Mox a saracenis incensam
 A Joanne Abbate refectam,
 Et a Desiderio itidem Abbate
 Ampliori gyro constructam
 Zaccharias PP. anno DCCLXVIII primum,
 Et Alexander II., anno MLXXI,
 Secundo consecraverant,
 Terremotum anni MCCCXLIX prorsus dirutam,
 Et Urbani V jussu erectam
 Ac rursus ruina obrutam,
 Atque a fundamentis
 Anno MDCLIX excitatam

Speaking of Pope Alexander, a Frenchman, who was contemporary with him, says of him that he was "one who well deserved to be consulted and obeyed by the universal Church; for his decisions were fair and sound. The sun held not more exactly to its assigned course than did he to the path of truth, everywhere correcting whatever evil he could, and never showing himself a respecter of persons."¹ Anyone who examines his relations with the country to which William of Poitiers belonged must form the same conclusion. After carefully surveying the history of the fourteen ecclesiastical provinces into which France was then divided, Delarc's inferences quite bear out the statements of the Conqueror's chaplain. He writes: "By his letters and by his legates Alexander II. was perpetually intervening in the difficulties and in the multifarious incidents of the inner life of the Church in France. And it cannot be called in question that this intervention of his was most beneficial, nay, in some cases, even providential."²

By the ancient canon law of the Church, a bishop was to be freely elected by the clergy and people of the diocese; but at this period throughout almost the whole of France,

Episcopal
elections.

Ac recens magnificentius exornatam
Benedictus XII P.M. Ord. Prædic.
Anno MDCCXXVII, die XII Maji
Solemni ritu tertio consecravit.

Description du Mont-Cassin, p. 44 (Imprimerie de l'abbaye, 1900). Cf. Alfano, *Carmina*, ap. Ozanam, p. 261 (*Documents inédits*), who speaks of Monte Cassino as

"Mons ubi jura Deus populo
Scripta suo tribuit digito";

and the account of the anonymous eye-witness, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 76. Cf. Ep. Alex. 49.

¹ *Willelmi Gesta*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1246. "Alexander dignissimus cui obediret, quemque consuleret Ecclesia universa," etc.

² *Greg. VII.*, ii. 377.

freedom of election was a thing of the past.¹ Bishops were imposed on clergy and people by the power of the king or of some feudal overlord ; and, as money was the sole aim of most of these men, it will be readily understood that most of the bishops of France held their sees because they had paid the price. And when once the civil magnates had secured their price for a bishopric or an abbey, they cared nothing about the character of the man who through them became a bishop or an abbot, nor about the subsequent fate of the diocese or monastery. Simony and its attendant evils stalked with sardonic smile from one end of France to the other. And those who had to suffer under the oppressive tyranny of the simoniacal invaders of bishoprics and abbeys had no other resource, but in person, or by letter, to implore "the justice of St. Peter, and consolation from his successor in the midst of the wrongs they had to endure."² The archbishops who ought to have been the most strenuous opponents of simony were its open or secret allies ; for, as Alexander pointed out,³ no one would buy a bishopric if he knew he could not obtain consecration from his metropolitan. It was then but natural, it was but proper, that the head of the Church should try to provide a remedy for this sad state of things, and should strive to wrest the right of election from the hands of worldly-minded men, and take it as far as possible into his own. With a view to effecting this transfer, we find Alexander declaring that to the Popes alone belonged the right of settling the boundaries of bishoprics,⁴ and not unfrequently assum-

¹ Read *Les élections épiscopales dans l'église de France du ix^e au xii^e siècle*, by Imbart de la Tour, Paris, 1891.

² Ep. 22 ; cf. epp. 39 and 46. Alexander (ep. 19) attributes to Cadaloüs the great prevalence of simony in France.

³ Ep. 16.

⁴ Epp. 97 and 98.

ing the right of approving the selection of episcopal candidates.¹

If at this period, owing especially to the countless evils caused by simony, the Church in France did not fall into complete chaos, it was due to the reforming intervention of the Holy See. It exerted its influence to a very large extent by the legates it dispatched thither one after another. They summoned and presided over councils, encouraged local efforts at reform,² deposed unworthy bishops, and authoritatively settled the disagreements which they found in the French clerical world—differences among the clergy themselves, or between divers churches, or again between the seculars and regulars.³ Even the most powerful prelates of France were fain to beg the Pope to send a legate *a latere* to aid them in the midst of their troubles.⁴ And appeals to the Pope for his help came to Rome from every rank of men throughout

Papal
legates.

¹ Delarc, ii. 381. Cf. his stopping the consecration as bishop of Soissons of the simoniacal homicide Josselin. Epp. 16 and 17. This barefaced case of simony justified the remark of Alexander in the former of the two letters: "Pestem Simoniacam, quæ hactenus vestris in partibus quasi timida serpere solebat, nunc caput accepimus extulisse et gregi Dominico, tam timore quam pudore remoto, gravissimam jacturam instantissime inferre." It often happened that it was only after a considerable struggle that Alexander succeeded in securing the ejection of simoniacal bishops. Cf. ep. 23.

² E.g., the council of Rouen, 1072, ap. Ord. Vitalis, iv. 10. The archbishop narrowly escaped being stoned to death through his efforts at this synod "to separate incontinent priests from their concubines." Ord. Vital., iv. 2.

³ Delarc, ii. 378, 379. Cf. ep. 27 in favour of the abbot of St. Denis against the bishop of Paris. See also epp. 7, 18, 45.

⁴ Cf. epp. 38 and 46, which show that Gervais, archbishop of Rheims, had entreated Alexander to send a legate for his comfort and assistance. From ep. 37 (1066) it can be gathered that the cardinal-subdeacon Peter, chancellor of the Roman Church, had been sent to France for the benefit of Gervais, who was far from being always a docile child of Rome. Cf. ep. 39 ff., and Delarc, ii. 275 ff.

France : ¹ from simple priests oppressed by their bishops ; from women robbed of their property and of their good name by lustful husbands ; from monasteries which had been plundered of their relics, of their rights, and of their possessions by bishops of the baronial type ; from abbots and monks forcibly expelled from their monasteries by simoniacal intruders ; from broken-hearted sinners who came to beg from the successor of the apostles pity and penance for their great transgressions ; ² and from bishops struggling against the savage tyranny of brutal barons. ³

Beren-
garius of
Tours.

It is not a little curious to find that one of the appeals to Rome for help came from Berengarius of Tours. When he returned home after his retractation at Rome (1059) of his teaching with regard to the Blessed Eucharist, ⁴ he is said to have continued to propagate his views, as though he had in no way compromised his position. But he was soon to find that others had changed, if he had not. His former friend, Eusebius Bruno, bishop of Angers, would no longer support him, but reminded him that his opinions had been condemned once and for all "by the synod of the Apostolic See." ⁵ What was felt much more keenly by Berengarius was the death (1060) of his powerful lay patron, Geoffrey Martel. The new count, Geoffrey the Bearded, the nephew

¹ Cf. epp. 39, 40, 41. The last letter was an effort to obtain redress for an unfortunate countess who had been robbed of her goods by her husband, and had been falsely accused by him of adultery that he might marry again. Cf. also epp. 42 and 44, in which Alexander speaks of Rome and the body of St. Peter "in quo *totius* Christianitatis est singulare refugium."

² Cf. ep. 100.

³ The letter of Bartholomew of Tours to the Pope, ap. Sudendorf, *Berengarius*, p. 221 ff.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 239 f. It was after the Roman synod of 1059 that he wrote his *Liber prior de sacra Cæna*, in which he restated the propositions he had condemned.

⁵ "Causa . . . sedis apostolicæ synodi sententia extincta," the closing words of Bruno's letter to him, ap. *P. L.*, t. 147, p. 1201 ff.

of Martel, disliked Berengarius just as heartily as his uncle had loved him; and he would have been no Angevin if he had not made his dislike felt by its object. He soon rendered the position of Berengarius as archdeacon of Angers untenable.

In sorrowfully making the fact known to Cardinal Stephen, Berengarius says that he is aware that it is open to him to appeal "to the dignity and sublimity of the Roman Church," but he would be glad if the cardinal himself would present his respects to the Pope, and approach him on his behalf. Alexander had already, he assured his correspondent, sent him his blessing. "The divine clemency would, through you, grant me a very great favour if you could induce the Pope to write to the archbishop (of Tours) and to the bishops of Le Mans and Angers, bidding them defend me against the presumption of the envious and the stupid."¹

Presumably ignorant that Berengarius had, despite his retraction of 1059, continued to teach as before regarding the Blessed Eucharist, Alexander, besides sending a kind letter of sympathy to the archdeacon himself,² wrote to the bishops of Tours and of Angers. He bade them not to allow Geoffrey to persecute Berengarius on pretence of defending the Christian faith, as that was their affair, and not his. He also addressed two letters "to his very dear son Geoffrey, count of the Angevins," one before and one after he had dispatched Cardinal Stephen to France on this and other business. In both he very paternally exhorted Geoffrey to cease to molest Berengarius, of whose

¹ Ep. ap. Sudendorf, *Berengar. Turon.*, p. 224. The letter belongs to the close of 1065 or the beginning of 1066.

² This and the three following letters were written before the May of the year 1066. They were found by Mr. E. Bishop in the British Museum, and were published by him in the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 1880, i. 273 ff. Cf. Jaffé, 4546, 4547, 4588, 4601, and Delarc, ii. 309 ff.

unbounded charity especial'y he had received a very good account. But, like the rest of his house, Geoffrey "neither feared God nor regarded man." He took no heed either of the Pope's letter or of his legate, Stephen, and if he had had his own way he would have continued to play the tyrant not only towards Berengarius, but towards the monks of Marmoutier and the whole diocese of Tours. Of this we have proof in the letter which Bartholomew, archbishop of Tours, wrote¹ to Alexander denouncing the oppressions of Geoffrey, "this contemporary Nero who surpasses in impiety all the counts his predecessors."

Fate of
Geoffrey
the
Bearded.

But Geoffrey was destined to get less of his own way in life than most men. His brother Fulk, *Rechin*, or "the Quarreller," wished to possess himself of his inheritance, and in the Lent of 1067 succeeded in securing Geoffrey's person. The bearded count was now himself in the position of needing the Pope's aid, and was fortunate enough to secure it. Stephen, Alexander's legate, induced Fulk to set his brother at liberty.²

No sooner, however, was he a free man than he recommenced oppressing the Church. Naturally irritated at such ingratitude, the cardinal summoned a council, excommunicated him,³ and "in virtue of the authority of St. Peter," gave the county of Anjou to his younger brother Fulk.⁴

¹ About the beginning of 1067. Ep. ap. Sudendorf, *Berengarius*, p. 221.

² In the *Fragmentum hist. Andegavensis* (ap. Marchegay's *Chroniques d'Anjou*, p. 379), generally ascribed to Fulk, the action of Stephen is attributed to the Pope himself. Fulk (?) says he freed his brother, "jussu papæ Alexandri."

³ Cf. the relation of his embassy undertaken by command of Urban II., given by Hugh, archbishop of Lyons. It is printed as his thirteenth letter (an. 1094), and is described as *charta*, etc. Cf. the following note.

⁴ *Fragmentum, ib.* Cf. a letter (ap. Sudendorf, *Berengarius*, p. 222 ff.) of Eusebius of Angers (c. beginning of 1071) to Alexander; and

Not long after the publication of this sentence, Geoffrey again fell into his brother's hands (1068), who, undeterred by papal excommunication, kept him prisoner in the castle of Chinon for twenty-eight years. At the close of that period the unhappy man was released through the efforts of Urban II. Shattered in mind and body, he only regained his freedom to die.¹

It is characteristic of the vain weakness of Berengarius that about the very time he was appealing to the See of Peter for help, he appears to have been perpetually abusing its doings and its occupants. From fragments of his writings which have come down to us in one way or another,² and which are believed to have been published at this period, we see how little his vanity could brook opposition. "It was either in 1068 or 1069"³ that he wrote his *Liber prior de sacra cæna*, and it was seemingly some four years later that he brought out a second book on the same subject in answer to Lanfranc's *Liber de corpore Domini*, which his first publication had provoked. In both works

Berengarius's want of respect for the Holy See.

Charta Hugonis Lugdunensis de absol. Fulconis, ap. *P. L.*, t. 157, p. 517. "Fulconi hinc principatus Andegavensis comitatus ab ipso legato ex parte S. Petri donatus erat." Hugh says that he learnt "from the true testimony" (*veraci relatione*) of many of Fulk's nobles that Geoffrey Martel had really left the county to Fulk.

¹ Cf. Miss Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, i. 218-228.

² Of his *Liber prior de sacra cæna* we have only the fragments, which Lanfranc has preserved in his *Liber de corpore Dni.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 150; but a fairly complete copy of his *Liber posterior de sacra cæna* was discovered by Lessing and given to the world under the direction of Neander (Vischer, Berlin, 1834).

³ Ebersolt, *Bérenger*, p. 49. Unfortunately, the exact dates of the publication of the two books of Berengarius are not known for certain, and hence a doubt has arisen whether Berengarius really did return to his old heresies after 1059; for, according to William of Malmesbury (*De gest. reg.*, l. iii., § 285, an. 1087), he certainly did "correct his opinions" at some time, and he assures us that it was as a "young man" (*adolescens*) that he had "infected wretched people with his heretical opinions."

the archdeacon descends to abuse, and in both decries the council of 1059, Cardinal Humbert, and Nicholas II. Humbert is a vagabond and an imbecile who does not understand his adversary; Lanfranc, if learned, is a knave who, like Paschasius Radbert, falsifies texts; and Pope Nicholas is an ignoramus, unworthy of his position, a prophet of lies.¹

The French
embassy of
St. Peter
Damian,
1063.

Cardinal Stephen was not the only legate sent into France by Alexander. One of the first of those whom he dispatched thither seems to have been St. Peter Damian, who volunteered to go in order to settle one of the many disputes which were then being carried on between the seculars and regulars.

When we reflect that, on the one hand, the spirit of reform at this period had its home among the monks, that the monastery was its centre, and that not only its chief exponents, but its authoritative supporters in the Church, were monks, and that, on the other hand, the bishops were not unfrequently the representatives of feudal domination and licence, we may be prepared to find the abbot's crook and the episcopal crozier in frequent opposition. And if the bishops generally had might on their side, the abbots usually had right. To adjust these differences without destroying the energetic life which gave them birth was one of the most vital duties of the Popes and their agents.

There had appeared before the Roman synod of 1063, Hugh, surnamed the Great, abbot of Cluny, and the real founder of its congregation. He had come for protection against Drogo,² bishop of Macon, in whose diocese Cluny

¹ Cf. Ebersolt, *Bérenger*, pp. 49-53; and Delarc, ii. pp. 321-327.

² He realised that his only hope of safety was "solam S. Petri . . . intrare naviculam." Cf. c. 4 of the narrative of this embassy of Damian by one of his companions. *De Gallica profectione D. Petri*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 865 ff.

was situated, and who by force of arms wished to deprive that famous monastery of its privilege of exemption from episcopal control. Alexander listened readily to Hugh's appeal, accepted the offer¹ of St. Peter Damian, "the eye and immovable foundation of the Apostolic See," to mediate between the two parties, and warmly recommended him to the archbishops of France.²

Undaunted either by his great age, his weak health, the terrors of the Alps, or by the wiles of Cadaloüs, who, like a tiger, was thirsting for his blood,³ the saint set out for France. On foot and without guides he crossed the great St. Bernard, and at length reached the famous abbey, where he was received with the greatest honour and joy. Without loss of time letters were dispatched to the neighbouring bishops, ordering them in the name of the Pope to meet in synod at Châlons-sur-Saône.⁴ Most of the bishops came prepared to support their colleague of Macon; but the eloquence and authority of the saint prevailed. And when the deeds of privilege granted to Cluny by its founder William, duke of Aquitaine, and by many of the Popes were read, the opposition of the bishop of Macon broke down. He declared that he had sinned in ignorance, and had no wish

¹ The saint had resigned his bishopric of Ostia at the very beginning of Alexander's reign.

² Ep. 15. Damian, "noster est oculus et apost. sedis immobile firmamentum." Cf. ep. 14.

³ *Ib.*, c. 6. "Cadaloicum etiam parvi pendit furorem, qui veluti orbata tigris ejus sanguinem anxie sitiebat."

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 11. "Tunc ex apostolicæ sedis auctoritate commonitoria ad episcopos diriguntur epistolæ, debitam Romano pontifici obedientiam imperantes . . . locum quoque et diem futuri concilii nuntiantes." The good discipline and work of the monks made the most profound impression on their visitors. Of their great care of the poor it is said: "Est quoque illius loci larga pauperum eleemosyna . . . nullus enim pauper famelicus vel immunis inde recedit," etc., c. 13. The beauty of the monastic church, cloisters, etc., was such that "ad inhabitandum se quasi monachos invitare videtur."

to oppose Pope Alexander or any of the Popes.¹ Various other affairs were settled at this council, and certain simoniacal intruders condemned,² so that "the synod which was convoked for one case, turned out to the profit of many." Refusing the presents which the grateful monks would have pressed upon him, "lest temporal reward might destroy the eternal," the saintly legate of the Apostolic See returned to the solitude of Fonte Avellana (October 1063).

That of
Hugo
Candidus,
1068.

Mention has already been made of the embassies of the cardinal subdeacon Peter, and of that of Cardinal Stephen. It remains to speak of yet another, viz. of that of Cardinal Hugo Candidus,³ who proved as faithless to his duty on this occasion as he had been previously untrue to Pope Alexander. Finding that in the service of the antipope (Cadaloüs) he was suffering much and receiving but little, Hugo sought and obtained not only Alexander's forgiveness, but some measure of his confidence. And out of respect for the memory of St. Leo IX., who had advanced him,⁴ Alexander sent his former adversary on an important embassy to the country on both sides of the Pyrenees. As we shall see, however, the falseness of his character reasserted itself; and "when acting as legate in Spain, he pulled down whatever he had built up; for he first prosecuted the simoniacs, and then on receipt of money condoned their offences."⁵

Hugo began his mission on this side of the Pyrenees, and in the arch-diocese of Auch—a province remarkable for the

¹ "Juravit, quia quod contra monasterium se egisse recolebat, neque ad injuriam apostolicæ sedis, neque ipsius papæ fecerat, neque adhuc privilegiorum tenorem ad liquidum noverat." Ep., c. 19. Cf. *Acta Synodi*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 859 ff.

² Epp. 22, 23, Alex.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 264.

⁴ "Hanc in eum humanitatem ostendentes precipue reverentia ordinatis ejus, b. scilicet p. Leonis." Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vi.

⁵ *Ib.*

number of its pluralist bishops.¹ He held his first synod at Auch itself.² Merely noting that it condemned "symbolic feasts in churches,"³ and that "by order of Pope Alexander," he held another council at Toulouse,⁴ we shall pass on with him into Spain. There, after furthering the movement of reform and of the *Truce of God* in public assemblies at Gerona and Vich,⁵ he entered upon a campaign against the liturgy that is known as the *Mozarabic*.⁶ Seeing, however, that it is the rite which had been in use in Spain since the time of the conversion to Christianity of its Visigothic invaders in the fifth century, *i.e.*, for some seven hundred years, it would be better called the Visigothic liturgy.⁷ Still, as it survived longer among the Mozarabs, or Mostarabes,⁸ as they should properly be called, it received their name. They themselves were Christians who, from the fact of their continuing to live amongst the Moors, came to receive a name which denoted that they had, in some respects at least, become Arabs.⁹

Until the second half of the eleventh century, the Mozarabic liturgy was in general use throughout Spain, as well among the Catholics of the independent northern Christian states as among the Mozarabs. But before then

Condemnation of the Mozarabic liturgy.

¹ Delarc, ii. 337.

² Conc. Auscense "habitum ab Hugone . . . sedis apost. legato." Ap. Labbe, ix., 1195.

³ "Interdicimus convivia more symbolarum in ecclesiis." *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 1196.

⁵ Ap. Mansi, *Concil.*, xix. 1070-1073.

⁶ Cf. vol. iv. 181 f. of this work.

⁷ It is the same as the liturgy in use in Gaul before Charlemagne, and in Britain before the coming of S. Augustine, and was founded on that of Rome. Cf. Lucas, *The Roman and the Early Gallican Liturgy*, ap. *Month*, Jan. 1902, and his *The Early Gallican Liturgy*, ap. *Dublin Review*, Oct. 1893 and Jan. 1894.

⁸ This was in time corrupted into Mozarabes. The word is a participle, equivalent to the Latin Arabizantes, and denotes "the adoption of the Arab mode of life." Cf. Hume, *History of Spain*, i. 126 n.

⁹ On the Mozarabs see Altamira, *Historia de España*, i. 256.

it had begun to be viewed with suspicion by the former.¹ Naturally influenced by their Frankish neighbours, who, from the time of Charlemagne, had adopted the *Roman* liturgy, they too had commenced to turn towards it, and insensibly to be alienated from the Mozarabic. It was remembered that the Adoptionists had essayed to support their heresy by quotations from it;² and, moreover, it was the liturgy employed by the Mozarabs, of whose orthodoxy the Spanish kings would naturally be as suspicious as they were of their patriotism. The great Christian conquests over the Moors began after the eleventh century had passed its zenith, and it was doubtless felt by the Christian kings that to take away their liturgy from the Mozarabs would be to break one more of their links with a mode of life which they wished them to forget. Whatever force there may or may not be in this reflection, it must not be pushed too far; for not a few, at least, of the bishops and many of the people were in favour of the national liturgy. And so when about the year 1065 legates of Pope Alexander were anxious for its suppression, the Spanish bishops in anger sent three of their number, viz., the bishops of Calahorra, Alava, and Auca (or Oca, then transferred to Burgos) to the Pope himself with their liturgical books, the *Liber Ordinum*,³ the *Liber Missarum*,

¹ The early history of this movement of suspicion of the Mozarabic liturgy is obscure owing to the fact that there is so much doubt regarding the authenticity of many of the Spanish documents of the early Middle Ages. Thus, despite the contrary statements of certain *authorities*, it is certain that this liturgy was not confirmed by John X. Cf. vol. iv. 181 f. of this work. Hume, *l.c.*, p. 228 f., following such an indifferent work as Meyrick's, *The Church in Spain*, states this question erroneously.

² Cf. Alzog, *Universal Church History*, ii. 130.

³ The very volume found comparatively recently by Dom Férotin. We are told that it belonged to the monastery of Albelda, and was retained by Pope Alexander. Cf. the contemporary *Codex Æmilianus*

the *Liber Orationum*, and the *Liber Antifonarum*. The volumes were carefully examined by the Pope and a council, and pronounced free from heterodoxy. Moreover, so at anyrate it is said by a contemporary Spanish document, "apostolic authority forbade any one in future to attack the office of the Spanish Church."¹

But, despite this pronouncement, the attack continued, and it is certain that Frankish influence and the desire of the Popes and of the great churchmen for orthodoxy and unity were potent factors in the abolition of the Mozarabic liturgy. Of the combined action of the Holy See and distinguished ecclesiastics in this matter we have an example in the letter which Alexander II. wrote about this time (October 18, 1071) to Aquilinus, abbot of the famous monastery of S. Juan de la Peña in Aragon. Understanding, he said, that in Spain the unity of the Catholic faith had lost its integrity, and that almost all had erred in the matter of ecclesiastical discipline and the divine worship, he had sent thither the cardinal-priest Hugo Candidus, who had restored the integrity of the faith, had expelled simony, and had unified the divine worship.² King Sancius (Sancho Ramirez, king of Aragon, 1063-1094), embracing the perfect faith, had submitted himself to the apostolic dignity, had placed all the monasteries of his kingdom under the jurisdiction of the Roman Church, and had dispatched you (Aquilinus) to Rome to obtain for

Conciliorum (quoted by Férotin, *Le Liber Ord.*, p. xix.), and Florez, *Esp. Sagrada*, iii. 390. See also Rev. Dr. Barry, *The Liturgy of Toledo*, ap. *Dublin Review*, January 1907.

¹ *Codex, ib.*

² Ep. 80. "Accepimus, in partibus Hispaniæ, catholicæ fidei unitatem a sua plenitudine declinasse, et pene omnes ab ecclesiastica disciplina et divinorum cultu interiorum aberrasse. . . . Qui (Hugo) . . . Christianæ fidei robur et integritatem ibi restauravit, Simoniacæ hæresis inquinamenta mundavit, et confusos ritus divinorum obsequiorum ad regulam canonicam et ordinem reformavit."

your monastery the special protection of the Roman Church, agreeing to pay to it an annual tax of an ounce of gold.¹ This patronage Alexander professed himself pleased to bestow, and informed the abbot in conclusion that he granted him "the glory and protection of the apostolic privilege."

Cardinal
Hugo is
anathema-
tised, 1078.

One result, then, of the mission of Hugo was the abolition of the Mozarabic rite in Aragon² and Navarre in 1071; and another was that the manner in which he conducted his embassy brought upon him the opposition of St. Hugh and the monks of Cluny. Recalled to Rome, the cardinal succeeded for the time in defending himself against their accusations, so that Gregory VII., in sending him once again into Spain (1073), declared it to be his belief that he was practically innocent.³ The second legation of Hugo, and a letter⁴ of the Pope to the kings of Leon and Castile, had not the same rapid success against the old liturgy in their kingdoms as corresponding acts had had in those of Aragon and Navarre. But it was doomed, and was soon

¹ "Sancius . . . semetipsum apostolicæ dignitati commisit ac subdidit . . . desiderans ut præfatum monasterium . . . constituto censu, videlicet unius uncie auri per singulos annos, in tutelam et singulare patrociniū S. R. ecclesiæ susciperemus." Ep. 80. The Chronicle of S. Juan de la Peña (ap. Fuente, *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 367) gives 1071 as the year of the introduction of the Roman liturgy (*lex Romana*, or *Romanum officium*) into that monastery. Cf. *ib.*, 363.

² Cf. ep. i. 63 of Gregory VII. to Sancho of Aragon. "In hoc autem, quod sub ditone tua *Romani ordinis officium* fieri studio et jussionibus tuis asseris," etc. Cf. Jaffé, 5098. It is stated, but not on contemporary authority, that the Mozarabic liturgy had been already condemned at the council of Jacca (c. 1063).

³ Cf. ep. i. 6. "Ea, quæ antehac sibi imposita sunt, vivente adhuc d. n. (Alexandro) papa, ex aliorum magis quam ejus culpa prodisse cognovimus."

⁴ March 19, 1074, to Alfonso VI., king of Leon, and Sancho II., king of Castile. Ep. i. 64. "Romanæ ecclesiæ ordinem et officium recipiatis, non Toletanæ vel cujuslibet aliæ . . . sicut cetera regna occidentis et septentrionis teneatis." Cf. Hefele, *Concil.*, vi. 610 f.

in the position of being barely tolerated in a few churches. Revived at the close of the fifteenth century by the great Cardinal Ximenes, it is still followed, as a liturgical curiosity,¹ in some churches in Toledo.

A second defection of Hugo from the line of the true Popes caused his whole conduct to be thoroughly examined. He was degraded in 1075,² and anathematised at the Roman Council of February 1078, not only on account of his adhesion to first one antipope and then another, but also on account of the unfaithful manner in which he had discharged his office of apostolic legate.³

In the successful expeditions against the Moors which the Spanish kings were carrying out at this period, many of the nobles of France took part.⁴ Among others who were desirous, moreover, of striking a blow against the infidels on their own account was Ebles or Eboli (*Evulus*), count of Rouci, near Rheims.

Spain a dependency of the Holy See (?).

Certainly for over three hundred years the idea of the paramount position of the Pope in the West had been steadily growing; and here there is question not of his spiritual position merely, but of his position among men from every point of view. This sentiment, which no doubt had its origin in the contemplation of his spiritual supremacy, and of the Christian faith and civilisation which the Western nations had received through him, was deepened by many political considerations. The decision of Pope Zachary had legalised the extinction of one

¹ Until a few years ago only the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary were known; but the discoveries and publications of Dom Férotin have put the world in possession of its ritual. Cf. his *Liber ordinum*, Paris, 1904; and *Revue des Quest. Histor.*, Jan. 1905, p. 173.

² Lambert, an. 1076; Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vii., an. 1075.

³ "Constitutus legatus apostolicæ sedis, hæreticis et symoniacis et ab apost. sede damnatis se conjunxit." *Acta concil.*, ap. Jaffé, *Regest. Greg.*, v. 14a.

⁴ Delarc, ii. 388 ff.

dynasty, and the establishment of another. Charlemagne, the greatest ruler whom the new nations had seen, had received an imperial crown at the hands of Pope Leo III. And when, through the failure of the line of his descendants, the empire which a Pope had inaugurated had faded away, the West saw rise up, at the touch of his hand, a new creation, "The Holy Roman Empire of the German nation." Ever since the sixth century, men in every Western land had become accustomed to seeing emperors and kings, bishops and abbots, dukes and counts, asking the Pope to take their religious and philanthropic foundations under his protection, to give his sanction to important political transactions of all kinds, and to grant them his assistance in extricating themselves from difficulties which more powerful neighbours or other circumstances had brought upon them. Through the action of the princes of the Hungarians, of the Slavs, and of the Normans, it had become no uncommon spectacle to see kingdoms placed under the patronage and protection of the Holy See. Even in the reign of Alexander himself, Ramiro I. (king of Aragon, 1035-1063), beset with political difficulties, made his kingdom "tributary to the Holy See," and in sign thereof paid it an annual tax.¹ Then, was it not definitely asserted in the supposed *Donation of Constantine*, to which public appeal had at length begun to be regularly made, that the first Christian emperor had made over the whole West to the Popes?² It is only natural then to

¹ Cf. ep. Greg. VII., ap. Jaffé, 5098. Hence we find it stated in the *Liber Censuum* (ed. Fabre, i. 216 and 217) that Aragon paid to the Holy See "250 obulos auri." Cf. Fabre, *Étude sur le "Lib. Cens."* 121 ff.

² Whether we read the *Donation* among the *False Decretals* (ed. Hinschius, p. 254), or in *Deusdedit* (*Collectio Can.*, p. 345, ed. Martinucci), it is stated that Rome "et omnes Italiæ seu occidentalium regionum provincias, loca, et civitates" are given over to the Popes. In the Latin of the period "seu" meant *and*, and not *or*.

find the opinion gaining ground that the West was subject to the suzerainty of the Popes, and that lands newly acquired by Christians should be held of him in feudal tenure.

At any rate we shall find Gregory VII. boldly asserting that "the kingdom of Spain" was subject to St. Peter;¹ while, to gain the support of Alexander, Ebles of Rouci, before undertaking his expedition against the Spanish Moors, agreed to hold his conquests "of St. Peter."²

Among those who suffered from the swords of the Franks in Spain were the ever-unfortunate Jews. In Alexander, ^{Alexander and the Jews.} however, they found a friend. Both bishops and counts were given to understand that he highly disapproved of the ill-treatment which had been meted out to them. It seems, too, that the Spanish bishops had also done their best for the Jews, for their conduct is praised by the Pope. "We have just heard with pleasure," he wrote to them,³ "that you have protected the Jews who dwell in your midst, preventing them from being killed by those who have entered Spain against the Saracens. Through brutish ignorance or blind cupidity, these men wished to kill those whom, it may be, the divine clemency had predestined to eternal salvation. So the blessed Gregory forbade the killing of Jews, pronouncing it impious to wish to slay those whom God had preserved in order that, after the loss of their country and their liberty, they might, in lasting penance for the wrong done by their fathers in shedding the Saviour's blood, live dispersed throughout the world. The case of the Jews and the Saracens is very different.

¹ *Regest.*, i. 6, 7, and iv. 28.

² "Evulus . . . hanc concessionem ab apostolica sede obtinuit . . . ut partem illam unde paganos . . . expellere posset, sub conditione inter nos factæ pactionis ex parte S. Petri possideret." *Ib.* i. 7. *Cf.* i. 6.

³ Ep. 101. *Cf.* epp. 102-103, and Jaffé, 4581, where he forbids the Jews to be baptised by violence.

War is justly waged against the latter, who attack the Christians, and drive them from their homes and from their country. But the former are everywhere ready to live in subjection."¹

Alexander
and
England.
i. S. Wul-
stan.

Now that the royal houses of Spain and England are united by marriage, transition in thought from the one country to the other is easy. Alexander will probably ever be thought of by Englishmen as the Pope who countenanced the invasion of this country by William the Conqueror. He had had, however, other relations with the English before that event. We have already seen² that Nicholas II. consented to grant the pallium to Ealred of York only on the condition that he resigned the See of Worcester. To watch the due performance of this agreement and to transact other business, two legates (Ermenfried, bishop of Sion, and another) were dispatched to England by Nicholas's successor, Alexander (1062).³ King Edward received them with the profound reverence with which he was wont to

¹ In his learned and interesting work, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, Mr Abrahams writes: "It was almost a tradition with the Popes of Rome to protect the Jews who were near at hand, however severely their official bulls condemned to persecution the Jews who inhabited more distant countries" (p. 400). In this instance, however, which he has not noticed, we see a Pope protecting the Jews in distant lands, and quoting the words of another Pope as his reason for so doing. One result of the manner in which the Jews in Rome were treated by the Popes was the striking loyalty displayed by them to the successors of Peter. "Les juifs étaient, plus que les chrétiens, des fidèles," concludes Rodocanachi, *Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs*, p. 130 (Paris, 1891).

² Cf. *supra*, p. 257 f.

³ "Hujus igitur conditionis (viz. the surrender of the diocese of Worcester) arbitros et quædam alia ecclesiastica negotia in Anglia expedituros, cardinales adductos archiepiscopus (Ealred) regi exhibuit." William of Malmesbury, *in vit. Wulstani*, i. 10, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 1746. Cf. *ib.*, *De Gest. Pont.*, l. iv. p. 1589. It is from Simeon of Durham and Florence of Worcester (ad an. 1062) that we learn the date of this papal legation, the name of one of its members, etc.

bestow on all that was *Roman*.¹ Then, in obedience to the command of the Pope, Ealred accompanied them in a visitation which they made of nearly the whole of England, and finally left them at Worcester in charge of Prior Wulstan, who spared no pains "that they might experience the unbounded hospitality of the English." Through the representations of the legates, supported by those of the archbishops of Canterbury and York and of Earl Harold, Wulstan himself was elected to fill the see which Ealred had vacated. But it was only when put under obedience to the Pope that the saint would accept the bishopric. He was in due course consecrated at York by Ealred; because, as we have already noticed, "the Roman Pope had interdicted Stigand of Canterbury from exercising the functions of his office."²

The king, who, "in his inimitable manner," was so devoted to the customs of Rome,³ died on January 5, 1066, and for "forty weeks and one day" was succeeded by Earl Harold. But if he became king *de facto*, William, duke of Normandy, claimed to be king *de jure*, and at once prepared to make good his claim by appealing both to the Pope and to arms. The ambassadors he sent to Rome assured Alexander that the Confessor had promised that he should succeed him,⁴ and that Earl Harold, who had now usurped

ii. Banner
for the
Conqueror,
1066.

¹ "Excepit eos Deo devotissimus princeps more illo suo paucis imitabili, quo soleret in omnibus Ecclesiæ Romanæ convenire moribus." *Vit. Wulst., ib.*

² *Ib.*, c. 12. Malmesbury's *Life* of Wulstan is mostly drawn from an Anglo-Saxon *Life* by Coleman, the saint's disciple. See Malmesbury's letter to the monks of Worcester which he prefixed to his biography.

³ At his request Alexander had granted (ep. 21) "privileges of our authority" to the monastery of St. Mary at Coventry. As mention is made in the bull of the recent death of Earl Leofric (†1057), it must have been issued in the beginning of Alexander's reign.

⁴ In the quaint language of the *Hist. des ducs de Normandie* (written in the first half of the thirteenth century), "Euras (Edward) li rois d'Engleterre n'ot nul enfant, si establi son hoir dou duc Guillaume

the throne, had already sworn fealty to the duke as his liege lord.¹ When Gislebert, archdeacon of Lisieux, William's chief envoy, arrived in Rome, he did not find any one from England to oppose him. For Harold had neglected to send ambassadors thither to justify his pretensions, "either because he was proud by nature, or distrusted his cause; or because he feared that his messengers would be obstructed by William and his partisans, who beset every port."² He did not, however, stand in want of friends, and a fair hearing was given to the question. But, unfortunately for Harold, his case was opposed by Hildebrand. It was to no purpose that some pointed out that the expedition would cause great bloodshed. Hildebrand's motto was *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*; and with the prevailing notions of feudal equity, he had no difficulty in showing that Harold was William's liegeman

par l'archevesque Robiert de Cantorbyre, ke il i envoia" (p. 63, ed. Michel). Even if Edward afterwards withdrew his promise, there can be but little doubt that at one time he had given William to understand that he should succeed him. But into the disputed question of the respective rights to the throne of England of William and Harold we have no intention of entering.

¹ Behold the dramatic way in which this oath-taking is described by Wace (c. 1150) in his *Roman de Rou*, v. 5717 ff.!

"Quant Heraut sus la main tendi (viz. over the relics),
 La main trembla, la char fremit;
 Pois a jure e arami,
 Si com uns hæm li eschari:
 Ele, la file al duc, prendra,
 E Engleterre al duc rendra;
 De co li li fera son pœir
 Selonc sa force et son saueir,
 Empres la mort Ewart, s'il uit,
 Si ueirement Deus li ait,
 E li corsaint qui iloc sunt:
 Plusors dient: 'que Deus le dont!'"

Cf. Taylor's translation of Wace, p. 85.

² Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Reg.*, l. iii., ad an. 1066.

and must submit to him.¹ The debate finished by the Pope's encouraging the Norman duke boldly to take up arms against the perjured Saxon, and sending him a banner of St. Peter.

Strong in the papal approval of his enterprise, William had no difficulty in raising an army for the invasion of England. When his arms had been crowned with success, and the last Anglo-Saxon king had fallen on the field of Senlac, he displayed his appreciation of what the Pope's decision had done for him. He sent to Alexander untold gold and silver, ornaments "which would have been reckoned splendid even at Constantinople," and Harold's great standard with the figure of an armed man woven upon it in gold.²

¹ See Gregory's letter (vii. 23) to William: "Notum esse tibi credo . . . priusquam ad culmen pontificalem ascenderem . . . ut ad regale fastigium cresceres, quanto studio laboravi," etc. Cf. also Ordericus Vitalis, iii. c. 11; William of Poitiers, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1246; the *Roman de Rou*, v. 3331 ff., and Benoît de Saint-More, who wrote his rhymed *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* a little before Wace had completed his *Roman*. The last-named author sings:—

"De son deslei est grand esclandre.
A Rome est donc pape Alixandre,
Jusz hoem, saintisme e verais."

Informed of Harold's perjured disloyalty—

"L'apostoile se fist mult liez
Dunt si s'esteit humiliez;
Apostolial ottreiance,
Son le pœir de sa puissance,
L'en comanda e vout e dist
E par ses lettres li escrist
Que del conquerre ne se feigne;
Od tot li trâmist une enseigne
De saint Père por demonstrer
Qu' à ce li volent ajuer."—v. 36,786 ff., ed. Michel.

It is sometimes stated by modern authors that Harold was excommunicated by the Pope; but the statement is not founded on any contemporary evidence whatsoever.

² Will. of Poitiers, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1260.

Presents
for the
Pope, 1066.

iii. Claim
for Peter's
Pence.

Naturally gratified by this display of the Conqueror's goodwill, the Pope took occasion to ask for the renewed payment of Peter's Pence, as the troubles consequent on the death of Edward the Confessor had resulted in a suspension of its collection. In the fragment of the letter in which this request is made, Alexander makes a statement which we shall find more strongly urged by Gregory VII., and firmly contradicted by William. "Your Prudence," wrote the Pope, "is aware that, from the time when the name of Christ was first made known in England, that kingdom remained under the protection and patronage (*sub manu et tutela*) of the Prince of the Apostles, till certain men, imitating the pride of their father the devil, broke the bond of God, and turned the English away from the path of truth. . . . As you well know, whilst the English were faithful, in order to show their religious devotedness, they were accustomed to pay an annual charge (*pensionem*) to the Apostolic See. Of this money, part went to the service of those attached to the Church of St. Mary which is called the School of the English, and part to the Roman Pontiff."¹

iv. William
asks for
papal
legates,
1070.

William, it would seem, made no difficulty in agreeing to pay the Peter's Pence which had been paid by Edward the Confessor, and at the same time asked the Pope to send legates² solemnly to crown him again, and to help him to settle the affairs of the Church in England; for his original coronation by Ealred of York had been anything

¹ Ep. 139. This fragment which has come down to us through the collection of Cardinal Deusdedit (p. 328, ed. Martinucci) is undated and decidedly enigmatical. But it would appear that it must belong to the early years of William, and must refer to the reign of Harold, and to the troubles that accompanied and followed it.

² This we know both from Crispin's *Life of Lanfranc* ["Missi (the legates) ad petitionem ipsius a Papa Alexandro," c. 6, ap. *P. L.*, t. 150], and Ordericus (iv. c. 6), "Ex petitione ipsius A. papa tres idoneos ei . . . legaverat vicarios."

but auspicious. By the year 1069 he had become really master of England.¹ He wished, therefore, to have the sanction of the Pope for the completion of his undertaking, as for its commencement. Alexander, accordingly, dispatched to England Ermenfried, bishop of Sion (Sitten), a man already acquainted with the affairs of this country, and two cardinals.

Received by William as angels of God, their first act was to confirm the Conqueror's position as king of England by solemnly crowning him at Winchester² (Easter 1070). They then proceeded to help him in dealing with the Church. As no little of the opposition which he had encountered in his efforts to render the country completely submissive to him had been brought about by churchmen, he made it his policy "to deprive of their ecclesiastical positions as many of the English as possible, and to fill up their places with men of his own nation, in order to confirm his power in a kingdom which he had but recently acquired."³ Besides, the Conqueror was a man who wished to be obeyed in matters spiritual as well as temporal.⁴ However, as he was really anxious to have the Church holy, and endeavoured to appoint pious and learned men to bishoprics and abbacies, speaking generally, more good than harm was the immediate result at least of his arbitrary conduct, for "he was mild to those good men who loved God, and beyond all bounds stark to those men who with-

¹ Cf. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, iv. 233 ff. He had refused to be consecrated king by the excommunicated Stigand. Cf. William of Poitiers, *Gesta*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1259, and Malmes., *De gest. pont.*, i. p. 1458 f., "prohibitores ex parte apostolici subornans."

² Ord. and Crispin, *ll.cc.*

³ Florence of Worcester, an. 1070. In Appendix II. of *A Hist. of the English Church from 1066-1272*, by Stephens, will be found a table showing how systematically this policy was carried out.

⁴ "Cuncta erga divina simul et humana ejus nutum expectabant," says Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum.*, l. i., ap. *P. L.*, t. 159.

stood his will.”¹ And there is no doubt that the action of the Normans on the Church in England was greatly to its benefit. It put new life into its dry and decaying bones. This much is allowed even by William of Malmesbury. The Normans, he says,² “revived by their coming the observances of religion which in England were everywhere grown lifeless. You might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before, and you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites.”

Deposition
of Stigand,
1070.

After William's coronation by the papal legates, “at his command and by consent of Pope Alexander, a great council was holden at Winchester. . . . In this council Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was degraded on three grounds: because he was unlawfully holding the bishopric of Winchester, together with his own archbishopric, and because during the life of Archbishop Robert he had not only taken possession of the archbishopric, but for some time during the celebration of Mass had worn his pallium, which had been left at Canterbury after his violent and unjust banishment from England, and because he had afterwards received the pallium from Benedict, who had been excommunicated by the Holy Roman Church for having simoniacally obtained possession of the Apostolic See.”³ For Stigand, whom the Conqueror had hitherto treated with diplomatic respect, and for the other bishops and abbots who were deposed at this and at a subsequent synod held in the following month (May), nothing can be said. They deserved their fate. And in the case of Stigand in particular, it must be borne in mind that he had been already condemned by the Holy See. For “nineteen

¹ So write in the *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, an. 1087, “we who have seen him and formerly lived in his court.”

² *De gest. reg.*, iii. § 246.

³ *Fl. of Wor.*, 1070.

years had he remained in his obstinacy of heart," and during that period no fewer than five Popes, from St. Leo IX., had sent their legates into England to deal with that recalcitrant prelate.¹ But in some of the depositions decreed by these synods, justice was not always done. Among others who were thus unwarrantably driven from their sees even into dungeons was Ægelric or Alric, bishop of Chichester.²

The unjust deposition of bishops, however, could not be tolerated by the Pope, and in 1071 a letter reached William from Alexander in which he pleaded for the oppressed in general, and for Alric in particular. After praising the king for his zeal against simony and for his love for the liberties of the Church, and reminding him that the crown was only given to those who persevered to the end, he exhorted him to adorn the churches of Christ with sound regulations, to govern his kingdom with justice, and mercifully to protect from injuries ecclesiastical persons, widows, orphans, and the oppressed generally. To this end he is to follow the counsels of Archbishop Lanfranc,³ "one

Alexander
interposes
on behalf
of the
bishop of
the South
Saxons.

¹ This valuable information is furnished us by the profession of faith which Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, offered to Archbishop Lanfranc, and which, preserved in MS. (Cotton, *Cleopatra*, E. i.), is quoted by Rule (*St. Anselm*, ii. 109 n.). "Ipse (Stigand) tamen decem et novem annis in sui cordis obstinatione permansit. Quo tanti temporis intervallo præfatæ Romanæ ecclesiæ pontifices, Leo, Victor, Stephanus, Nicholaus, Alexander, legatos suos suis quisque temporibus in Angliam transmiserunt." In his quarrel for precedence with Thurstan of York, Archbishop Ralph urged to Pope Paschal II. (1119) that Stigand was the only archbishop of Canterbury who had disobeyed the Apostolic See. If Rome had given Canterbury the primacy, Canterbury had always rendered it obedience. "Ecclesia Cantuariensis quicquid humilitatis, subjectionis et fidei, Christiano et ecclesiastico jure, decebat, Apostolicæ sedi perpetua stabilitate referret." Ep. Radulfi Calixto II., ap. *Historians of York*, ii. 228, R. S.

² Fl. of Wor., *ib.*

³ He had succeeded Stigand in August 1070. It was necessary for the legate Ermenfried to go over to Normandy, and lay upon him the

of the first sons of the Roman Church." "Moreover, we wish to inform your eminence that the case of Alric, formerly bishop of Chichester, and deposed by our legates, does not seem to us to have been properly discussed. Accordingly, in accordance with the canons, we have decided that he must first be restored, and then have his case carefully re-examined by our brother, Archbishop Lanfranc. . . . In deciding causes he will represent us, so that whatever just decisions he shall form shall be held to be final, as though defined by us."¹ This letter was brought by Lanfranc from Rome, whither, in company with Thomas, archbishop of York, he had gone for his pallium.² Certain it is that for some time it produced no effect; for, somewhat later, we find Alexander asking Lanfranc if the continuance of the captivity of the bishop was due to his negligence or to the disobedience of the king.³ Whether or not the Pope's remonstrances were finally hearkened to or not, does not appear to be recorded. What evidence there is seems to show that they were not.

command of the Pope before he could be induced to come over to England in order to be archbishop of Canterbury. This we know not merely from Eadmer (*Hist. Nov.*, l. i. p. 6, ed. Selden), but from Lanfranc himself in a letter of his to the Pope. Cf. Crispin, *in vit.*, cc. 6 and 7, and ep. 1, Lanfranc. In *P. L.*, t. 150, in which most of Lanfranc's extant works are printed, it is stated that some of his letters, this among them, are to be found in *P. L.*, t. 146, at the end of Alexander's letters. Such is not the fact. But the letter cited may be read in vol. i. p. 20 of Giles's ed. of Lanfranc's works, London, 1844. Crispin (c. 4) says that William's choice of Lanfranc, his chief adviser, to be archbishop met with the approval both of the Norman and English notables, and had been made "Alexandri universalis ecclesiæ summi pont., viri vita et scientia excellentissimi, consulto et rogatu." Hence, in the letter just quoted (ep. 1), Lanfranc begged that the same papal authority which imposed on him the burden of the episcopate might free him from it.

¹ Ep. 83.

² Fl. of Wor., 1071. Ep. 82 is the Pope's bull granting Thomas the pallium. On Lanfranc, cf. *supra*, p. 268, etc.

³ Ep. 143.

Lanfranc had written to Rome to request that the pallium might be sent to him; but he was politely informed by Hildebrand that the old rule must be observed, and that he must come in person to receive it; that if an exception could be made for any one, it should be made for him, but that it could not; and that besides the Holy See wished to consult him on various matters.¹

v. Lanfranc
in Rome.

Arrived in Rome with Thomas of York and Remigius of Lincoln, he was received most cordially by the Pope, not merely as an archbishop of an important see, as the learned instructor of many of his relations,² and as his own master, but as a great and holy man, and as the champion of the Church against the heretic Berengarius. When he came before Alexander, the Pontiff rose from his seat to greet him, not because, as he said, he was an archbishop, but because he had been his master. "And now," continued the Pope, "that I have given its due to honour, do you pay what is owing to justice, and, like all archbishops, prostrate yourself at the feet of the vicar of St. Peter." Then with his own hand did he put round the archbishop's neck his own pallium, afterwards presenting him

¹ Ep. Hild., p. 734, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, which contains the works of Hildebrand. Nicholas II. had already expressed an ardent wish to have the benefit of his councils. "Libenter vestris recrearer consiliis, quem in Romanis et apostolicis servitiis satis opportunum audivimus." Ep. 30, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

² Ep. 70 Alex. In the touching letter (already quoted—ep. 1 Lanf.) which Lanfranc had, to no purpose, addressed to Alexander to beg him, whose "authority had involved him in the difficulties" of the archbishopric, "to permit him to return to the monastic life," he had entreated the Pope "never to forget how ready I always was to entertain in my monastery, not only your relations, but all who brought introductions from Rome. I instructed them in sacred as well as secular learning, and I might mention other things in which, whenever an opportunity occurred, I endeavoured to render good offices to you and your predecessors. . . . My only object (in saying this) is to adduce some reason why this favour should be granted me for Christ's sake" (Hook's version).

with another from the confession of St. Peter in the usual manner.

Treatment
of *York*
and
Lincoln by
the Pope.

But the reception accorded by the Pope to Thomas and Remigius was very different. They were deprived of the emblems of their episcopal office, of their croziers and rings, because the one was the son of a priest, and the latter was judged to have purchased his bishopric from William by the assistance he had supplied him in his invasion of England. However, as Lanfranc interceded for them, the Pope bade him act towards them as he thought fit. They were at once reinvested.¹

vi. The
question of
precedence
between
York and
Canter-
bury.

This act of kindness on the part of Lanfranc did not prevent Thomas of York from appealing to the Pope against the claim for precedence set up by the archbishop of Canterbury. According to Malmesbury,² he resisted Lanfranc's demand for an oath of obedience because, being a stranger, he did not understand the customs of England. Although Lanfranc supported his pretensions "with strong sayings,"³ Alexander would not settle the matter himself, but decided that it must be referred for final judgment to the united bench of the bishops and abbots of England.⁴

Decided at
Windsor,
1072.

Consequently, on Lanfranc's return a council was called at Windsor "by the command of Pope Alexander, and the permission of King William," and it was decided that the Church of York was subject to that of Canterbury, and that the archbishop of York was to take an oath of canonical obedience to him of Canterbury.⁵ The council was overcome by the logical eloquence of Lanfranc. "When our Lord and Saviour," he contended, "said to St. Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my

¹ Cf. Will. Malmesb., *De gest. pont.*, l. i. pp. 1461 and 1475, and Eadmer, *Hist. Novor.*, l. i. p. 7.

² *Ib.*, p. 1460.

³ *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1070.

⁴ Malmesb., p. 1461.

⁵ Cf. Malmesb., *De gest. reg.*, iii. § 294 ff.

Church,' etc., He might, had it so pleased Him, have added, 'the like power I grant to thy successors.' But the omission of such words in no wise diminishes the dignity of the successors of that apostle. . . . Do you advance anything in opposition to this? It is impressed on the consciences of all Christians that, no less than if the acts were those of St. Peter himself, they should tremble when his successors threaten, and reverently rejoice when they show themselves serene. And then only is the arrangement of any ecclesiastical matters ratified and binding, when the successors of St. Peter have given it their sanction. And what causes this but the power of divine grace diffused through the Lord Jesus from St. Peter among his vicars." "As Christ," continued the southern metropolitan, "said to all the bishops of Rome what he said to Peter, so what Gregory (the Great) said to all the successors of Augustine he said in the person of Augustine, hence it is that as Canterbury is subject to Rome because it received its faith from it, so let York be subject to Canterbury, which sent its preachers to it."¹

As soon as the council was closed, Lanfranc, "bishop of the holy Church of Canterbury," at once dispatched a letter "to the Lord Pope Alexander, supreme guardian (*speculator*) of the whole Christian religion, with all subjection and obedience," in which he gave him an

Lanfranc writes to the Pope and to Hildebrand on the decision,
1072.

¹ "Hinc conficitur ut, sicut Cantia subjiçitur Romæ, quod ex ea fidem accepit, ita Eboracum subjiçiatu Cantia, quæ eo prædicatores misit." Malmesb., *De gest. pont.*, lib. i. p. 1474, ed. P. L., t. 179. Bowden's version of this interesting passage, as far as it goes, is here used. In this logical treatment of the famous text, "Thou art Peter," we may notice the influence of the scholastic method now rapidly coming into vogue. Crozals (*Lanfranc*) has a whole chapter (c. 6) on this question of supremacy; but its value is very considerably impaired by his resting on such late authorities as Ralph de Diceto, etc.

account of what had been done in the council "summoned by his authority."

The history of Bede, "a priest of the Church of York and the doctor of the English," had been brought before the assembly, and from it extracts had been read which proved that, from the time of the conversion of the English to the days of Bede himself, Lanfranc's predecessors "had had the primacy over the Church of York, over the whole island which is called Britain, and over Ireland." Some of the bishops of the sees over which Thomas of York claimed jurisdiction had even, "with the authority of the Roman See," been deposed by archbishops of Canterbury. Councils too had proclaimed the primacy of that see. "Finally, as the very core and foundation of the whole argument (*robur totiusque causæ firmamentum*) were adduced the letters and privileges of your predecessors, Gregory, Boniface, Honorius, Vitalian, Sergius, Gregory, Leo, and John,¹ which, at different times on diverse topics, were sent to the archbishops of Canterbury and to the kings of the English. The authentic letters and their

¹ Lanfranc has been accused of forging this series of letters which Malmesbury proceeds to quote *seriatim*, and which we have noticed in previous volumes of this work under the *Lives* of the Popes who are credited with having written them (*cf.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 272, etc.). But as both Lanfranc himself and Malmesbury who quotes them attribute to them the chief share in obtaining the recognition of the primacy of Canterbury, we may be sure that Thomas, who was a man of intelligence, would have had them examined. Besides, Alexander, "after causing a careful inquiry into the privileges of churches" (*scrutinium de privilegiis ecclesiarum fieri præcepimus*), cites an extract from a letter of Boniface IV. which is found in the corresponding document given by Malmesbury (ep. 142 Alex.). Again, an undoubted letter of John VIII. (ep. 95, see vol. iii. p. 344 of his work) is on quite the same lines as this series regarding Canterbury. Finally, is it likely that a forger would so greatly add to the chances of detection by concocting nine false letters, when a third of that number would have sufficed for his purpose, and when he had the convenient excuse of the fire to fall back upon.

copies which had been sent by other Pontiffs were burnt in the fire which destroyed "our Church four years ago."¹

Along with this letter, the archbishop forwarded another to Hildebrand, whom he spoke of as the honour and support of the Church. He informed him that he had sent to the Pope an account of the synod, and begged him, with his accustomed kindness, to read it over most carefully.²

That Alexander confirmed the decision of the council at Windsor is clear from the fact of his afterwards calling the Church of Canterbury "the metropolitan see of all Britain."³ The letter which contained this phrase was written to Lanfranc, because the Pope had been informed "by certain people from England" that some of the clergy, seeking the aid of the secular power, were endeavouring, on the pretext of a relaxation of discipline, to expel the monks not merely from St. Saviour's Church in Canterbury, but from every episcopal see.

Alexander
supports
the monks,
1072 or
1073.

To this new party Lanfranc had offered effective opposition; but, lest it might prevail after his death, he appealed for the support "of the authority of the Roman and Apostolic See,"⁴ particularly with regard to the monks of Canterbury. The result of his appeal was the letter just quoted, in which Alexander renewed the decrees of St. Gregory the Great and Boniface IV. in favour of the monks, and "in the name of the Apostles" repeated the anathemas they had pronounced against such as contravened their decrees.⁵

¹ Ep. Lanf., ap. Malmes., *De gest. pont.*, l. i. p. 1463. On the fire at Canterbury, Eadmer writes (*Hist. Novor.*, p. 9): "Antiqua ipsius ecclesiæ privilegia in ea conflagratione quæ eandem ecclesiam . . . consumpsit, pene omnia perierant."

² Ep. Lanf., ed. Giles.

³ Ep. 142.

⁴ Eadmer, *Loc.*, p. 10.

⁵ Ep. 142. Cf. epp. 143, 144.

William
and the
Holy See.

If to what has now been told of William's dealings with the Holy See be added his requests for its confirmation of his religious foundations,¹ it will be an obvious conclusion that he acknowledged, in theory at least, its spiritual supremacy over the whole Church, and so over himself and his people. But at the same time many of his acts show not merely that he understood that the spiritual supremacy of the Pope was one thing and his temporal supremacy quite another,² but also that his practice was often not logically consistent with a proper acknowledgment of the Pope's spiritual power. Without ever going to the length of regarding himself as the spiritual head of the Church either in Normandy or in England, he would not brook interference with his will, whether in matters spiritual or temporal. St. Anselm's biographer, Eadmer, well sums up this phase of the stark conqueror's character:³ "All things, human and divine, were dependent on his will. Briefly to explain this, I will set down some of the *novelties* which he introduced into England. . . . He would not suffer any one throughout all his dominions to acknowledge the duly constituted bishop of Rome as Pope, unless he sanctioned the submission, nor to receive his letters unless they had previously been submitted to him. Nor would he permit the archbishop of Canterbury, when presiding in council over the bishops of the province, to issue any synodal decrees which did not meet with his approval, and had not been first laid down by him. And as little would he allow, without his express sanction, any of his barons or ministers to be accused by a bishop of adultery . . . or of any capital offence, or to be bound by any ecclesiastical penalty."

¹ Cf. ep. Alex. 81, where the Pope takes the monastery of St. Edmund under the special protection of the Holy See, "charissimi filii nostri Willelmi regis benignæ interpellationis vota attendentes."

² This point will be developed under the *Life* of Greg. VII.

³ *Hist. Novor.*, l. i. init.

The fact that, after having continued for some three hundred years, the terrible Viking expeditions came to an end during the reign of Alexander, is one proof that Christianity had at length begun to take a firm hold of the Scandinavian countries. And, despite immense difficulties, it was at this period bringing forth exceptionally good fruit in Norway; for the men of that country "had learnt to love peace and truth, and were now content with their poverty, nay, were ready to give what they had got, and no longer, as formerly, to gather in what they had not sown."¹ This change in the character and habits of the Norwegians had been brought about especially by missionaries from England. It is only natural then to find them disposed to turn towards this country in their religious needs.

As we have already seen, ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all the countries of the extreme north of Europe had been conceded to the See of Bremen. And the famous Adalbert, its occupant at this time, "relying on the authority of the Roman Pope,"² was throwing himself with great ardour into the work of organising the Church in his vast archbishopric. For Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Orkneys and Ireland, he consecrated no fewer than twenty bishops, in some cases "even against the will of princes."³ One of the kings who gave Adalbert trouble was the fierce Harold Hardrada, who from 1047 to 1066 kept a heavy hand on Norway, and "extended his bloody rule even to Ireland."⁴ The archbishop was especially annoyed that he sent the bishops of his country to be consecrated in Gaul or in England, whereas the Pope had bestowed the right of their consecration upon himself. He accordingly sent an embassy to protest against the king's action. But the

¹ So writes the contemporary Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, iv. c. 30.

² *Ib.*, iii. 70.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, iii. 16.

haughty monarch drove the legates from his presence in a fury, declaring, "The only archbishop or ruler of any kind that I know in Norway is Harold."¹

Adalbert turned to the Pope for support, and Alexander at once dispatched a letter to Harold, "king of the Northmen." "Because you are still untrained in the faith, and walk somewhat haltingly in the way of ecclesiastical discipline, it behoves us, to whom has been committed the rule of the whole Church, frequently to admonish you. But inasmuch as distance prevents us from doing this in person, know that we have entrusted the doing of it to Adalbert, the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, our vicar. Now the aforesaid venerable archbishop, our legate, has complained to us that, in contravention of the Roman privileges which have been granted to his church and to himself, the bishops of your province have either not been consecrated at all, or have been simoniacally (*data pecunia*), and so wrongfully consecrated in England or in Gaul. Hence by virtue of the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul, as it is your duty to show respectful reverence to the Apostolic See, so we exhort you and your bishops to display proper submission to the venerable archbishop who is acting in our stead."²

This letter probably produced very little effect on the savage ruler of Norway. However, Adalbert managed to consecrate two bishops for his country, and, in one way or another, to secure some promise of obedience from those who were consecrated for it elsewhere.³ And when in 1066 Hardrada obtained the seven feet of land for a grave

¹ *Gesta*, iii. 16. "Haroldus . . . clamitans se nescire quis sit archiepiscopus aut potens in Norvegia, nisi solus Haroldus."

² Ep. 3.

³ "Ceterum aliunde ordinatos, *cum sibi satisfacerent*, et secum *misericorditer* (sometimes in prison) tenuit, et abeuntes dimisit hilariter." Adam, iii. sub fin.

promised him by Harold of England, Christianity was able to make more regular progress under his son Olaf *Kyrre*, or the Peaceable.

Whilst Hardrada was ruling, or oppressing, Norway, the southern Scandinavian kingdom (Denmark) was under the dominion of Sweyn (or Svend) II., Estrithson (1047-1076), of whom mention has been made already.¹ He was a man of very different character from the bellicose and sanguinary Harold. If he was a slave to incontinence, he was "the most illustrious among the barbarian kings . . . and was adorned with many virtues."² Among Sweyn's good qualities, Adam of Bremen specifies his learning, his liberality, and his zeal for the propagation of Christianity. It was from his "truthful and charming narrative" that the industrious canon gathered "a large portion of the matter for his little book."³ The zeal of Sweyn for the spread of the gospel was surpassed by "our archbishop," as Adam loves to call the "magnificent" Adalbert. "In a more lordly style than his predecessors, he extended his archiepiscopal powers among the outlying nations," and at one time formed the design of making a visitation of all the North, *i.e.*, "of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Orkneys, and even of Iceland, the extremity of the earth."⁴ But as he was advised that in the then state of Christianity in those parts such a plan was not feasible, "relying on the authority of the Roman Pope, and trusting to the ready help of the king of the Danes, he wished, with his wonted splendid ideas, to hold a council of all the bishops of the North."⁵ Finding, however, that some of the northern bishops were not disposed to recognise his authority, he appealed for the support of the Pope. By way of response,

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 73.

² Adam, iii. 53. Cf. Saxo Gram., xi. pp. 371, 373 ff.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 70.

⁵ *Ib.*

"Alexander, servant of the servants of God," sent a letter wishing health and the apostolic benediction "to the bishops in Denmark in communion with (*obedientibus*) the Apostolic See and our vicar." They are commanded to do their best to induce "Edbert, bishop of the Faroë Islands," against whom various charges are made, to come up for trial to the synod to which Adalbert had in vain often summoned him.¹ By another letter Sweyn and his people are exhorted not to communicate with Edbert until he makes satisfaction to the Pope's vicar.² At the same time, with a view doubtless to keeping Adalbert in his place, Alexander notified the bishops of Denmark "that no archbishop nor patriarch could canonically depose a bishop without a previous sentence of the Apostolic See."³

From a fragment of another letter of Alexander addressed to Sweyn which has come down to us, we gather that, even before this time, the Danes had been in the habit of paying Peter's Pence. The Pope begged Sweyn, for reasons with which we are already familiar, to cause his offering to be placed not on the altar of St. Peter, but "in our hands or in those of our successors, that more certain cognisance may be taken of it."⁴

Croatia
and Dal-
matia.

On the east of the Adriatic is a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which bears the name of Dalmatia. This district, with its broken coast-line, its many islands lying parallel to its shores, its deep gulfs, narrow channels, rapid currents, and sunken rocks, is almost identical in area with that which was known to the Romans under the same name in the days of our Lord. From the time when, during the Roman Empire (fourth century), the province of Dalmatia included, besides the modern province,

¹ Adam, iii. c. 70, or Jaffé, 4473 (3376).

² Jaffé, 4472.

³ *Ib.*, 4474.

⁴ Ep. 6.

Herzegovina and parts of Bosnia and Montenegro, and its destinies were directed by a *perfectissimus* president acting under the Prætorian prefect of Italy, it has been the battle-ground of many nations, and has known many masters. Soon after Gregory I.¹ was Pope (590-604), it appears to have been governed by a *duke* who was dependent upon the Exarch of Ravenna; and it was in the century in which that great Pope first saw the light that Slavs began to make inroads into it. On the authority of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, it used to be said that the Greek emperors employed the Avars to drive out these marauding Slavs, but had to use other Slavs, viz. the Chrobati, the present inhabitants of the country, to subdue the Avars. Now, however, it seems to be held that the first Slav invaders were subdued by other branches of the Slavonic family, the Croatians and Serbs, acting on their own behalf.² The country occupied by the Croatians lay for the most part between two tributaries of the Save, the Kulpa and the Verbas, and included, besides the present Croatia, part of Bosnia, and northern Dalmatia down to the river Cetina.

For a while the Chrobati or Croatians, and the conquered Slavs of Dalmatia were content to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperors of Constantinople, and during that time they appear to have begun to embrace the faith of Christ.³ The ninth century, however, saw independent Slavonic dukes of the Croatians, whose power, as we have seen, extended over northern Dalmatia.

But during the first few centuries of the history of the Croatians, the political situation was complicated by

¹ He speaks of a *proconsul* of Dalmatia.

² Cf. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, ii. ch. vii.

³ Cf. the *Life* of Pope John IV. (640-642) in vol. i. pt. i. of this work.

the fact that several of the coast towns and islands of Dalmatia contrived to resist the power of the Slavs, and remained more than nominally subject to the Basileus at Constantinople. For a season too, about the beginning of the ninth century, the Franks exercised some authority in Croatia. In the course of the eleventh century, Venice began seriously to interfere with the designs of the Croats, taking possession of such places as her ships could approach. However, in the midst of the darkness of early Croatian history, we find that the dukes who had won independence in the ninth century began, in the course of the tenth century, to call themselves kings.¹ The most famous of these Croatian kings, Cresimir II., or Cresimir Peter, as he generally styles himself (1058-1073), took the title of king of the Croats and Dalmatians. During his reign and that of his father, Stephen I. (1035-1058), communications with Rome were frequent, and records of them have been preserved by authentic letters of the Popes, and by the narratives, more or less confused, of the presbyter of Dioclea (in the second half of the twelfth century), and of Thomas, the archdeacon of Spalato² (or Spalatro).

¹ The early history of the dukes of Croatia-Dalmatia is very obscure. Cf. Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, ii. c. 9, London, 1848; Pypine and Spasovic, *Hist. des litt. Slaves*, p. 233 ff.; Brown, *Venice, passim*; and (especially valuable for the geography and architecture of Dalmatia) *Dalmatia, The Quarnero and Istria*, by T. G. Jackson, three vols., Oxford, 1887. A list of the dukes and kings of Croatia-Dalmatia will be found in Appendix II.

² The work of Thomas (b. 1200, †1268) is most valuable for his own time, and altogether he is an important witness. Extracts from his *Historia Salonitana* will be found ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. It is published in its entirety by Rački, Zagrabiae (Agram), 1894. We no longer possess the chronicle in verse of the *Presbyter* as it left his hands. This most ancient historical production of the Croato-Dalmatian literature only exists in a Latin translation by Marcus Marulus (†1524), and in a sixteenth century interpolated Slavonic version. It is of very little worth, being full of anachronisms and blunders of all kinds.

The invasions of the Slavs into the Balkan peninsula had the effect of almost completely breaking up its old ecclesiastical organisation throughout the greater part of the ancient civil dioceses of Illyricum, Dacia, and Macedonia; and the province of Dalmatia was no exception to the rule. When in 639 the Avars burnt Salona, the chief city of the Roman Empire in Dalmatia, where it had its arsenals for weapons, its weaving-houses, its dye-houses, and its store-houses, and where the Roman Church had its chief see in Dalmatia, the remnant of the inhabitants ultimately took refuge in the enormous and splendid palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalato, only a few miles away.¹ Here for many years they held out against the barbarians, and here founded the modern city of Spalato. Through this harbour of refuge the Popes contrived to keep in touch with Dalmatia. About the year 650 the reigning Pontiff sent a legate, John of Ravenna, to the shores of the Adriatic with instructions to reorganise the Christians throughout Croatia and Dalmatia. Promptly elected their archbishop by the people of Spalato, John was consecrated by the Pope, and obtained for Spalato all the privileges that had belonged to the Church of Salona. John appears to have been a model bishop (†c. 680). "He traversed Dalmatia and Sclavonia, restoring churches, consecrating bishops, forming their dioceses, and gradually attracting the barbarians to the Catholic faith."²

After giving us this account of the revival of Catholicity in Dalmatia, the worthy archdeacon of Salona proceeds to inform us that "all the bishops" of Dalmatia, both

Both the production of Marulus and a Latin translation of the Slavonic version may be read ap. *SS. Rer. Hungaricarum*, vol. iii. p. 476 ff., ed. Schwandtner, Vienna, 1748.

¹ On Salona-Spalato see Freeman, *The Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice*, p. 137 ff.

² Thomas, *Hist. Salon.*, c. II.

The ecclesiastical organisation of Croatia-Dalmatia.

north and south of the Cetina, obeyed the archbishop of Salona-Spalato. With the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity other bishoprics besides those of Dalmatia were established among them. But in the course of the century following that in which the Popes revived the hierarchy of Dalmatia, the iconoclastic emperor, Leo the Isaurian, forcibly withdrew the countries east of the Adriatic from the jurisdiction of Rome.¹ In the ninth and tenth centuries, however, as the Slavonic chiefs began more and more to assert their civil independence of the Basileus at Constantinople, they turned more and more to Rome for ecclesiastical guidance. Various Popes, such as John VIII. and John X., were in frequent communication with them during that period.

Whilst the bonds, never very strong, which united the Slavs with the eastern Roman Empire gradually became slacker, the cleavage between their different branches grew more pronounced. This caused the Popes to have to modify the ecclesiastical hierarchy which had relations with them, and we shall see Dioclea-Antivari cut off from Salona-Spalato to please the Servians, and later (*c.* 1145) Zara, in the north of Dalmatia, made into a metropolitanical see to satisfy the Venetians. The sovereign Pontiffs were also called upon to intervene in the disputes which arose concerning the language in which the Church's liturgy was to be said. Besides the natural wish on the part of the Popes to favour the use of the Latin language in order to deepen the sense of Christian unity, there were in its favour the desires of those places whither the Roman fugitives from all parts of Illyria had concentrated, such as Zara, Veglia, Arbe, Spalato, etc. In these cities, despite all the "Slavonic incursions, Latin, and later Italian, always remained the official language; it was also the

¹ *Cf. supra*, vol. i. pt. ii., p. 206 ff.

language of the people all down the coast.”¹ On the other hand, the Slavs were not unnaturally anxious to have the liturgy in Slavonic. The questions, then, of language, reform, and metropolitical jurisdiction in the Slavonic countries that touched the Adriatic occupied the attention of the Popes for many centuries.

About the year 1045 there ascended the archi-
episcopal throne of Salona-Spalato a man of the same
character as sat on many another episcopal throne in the
first half of the eleventh century—a man of a powerful noble
family who thought that right which he wanted to do. “He
had a wife and children like a layman, and kept them in
the archiepiscopal palace, so that his residence for ever
resounded with the wailings of children and the shrill
voices of servant-maids,” says the indignant archdeacon of
Salona.² Occupied, too, with worldly affairs, he had very
little time left for spiritual duties. Pope Leo IX. was not
the man to tolerate such “enormities.” He dispatched a
legate to Salona, “a very prudent man,” John by name,
perhaps John, bishop of Porto. Summoned before a synod,
Dabralis, for such was the archbishop’s name, urged that
in taking a wife he was simply following the custom of the
Oriental Church. “Regarding these excuses as of no
account, the legate by apostolic authority definitely deposed
him from his see.”³

Other legates of Leo’s successors followed John in the
work of introducing law and order into the Church of the
Croatsians.⁴

¹ Villari, *The Republic of Ragusa*, p. 10, London, 1904. He
excepts Ragusa, “where Slavonic was also spoken at an early date.”

² “Totum vero episcopium nonnisi uagitibus paruulorum et ancil-
larum tumultibus erat plenum.” Thomas, c. 15.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Cf. Documents 42 and 83, ap. Rački, *Doc. Hist. Chroat.*, relating
to the work of Teuzo, the legate of Nicholas II.

The
eleventh
century
papal
reform
reaches
Dalmatia,
c. 1050.

The
Slavonic
liturgy,
1060.

Among the smaller kingdoms with which Alexander also was in regular communication was Dalmatia. The call for reform raised by the Pope was responded to in that country, but the effort to meet it was complicated by the question of the use of the Slavonic language in the liturgy. Apparently in the year 1060, Mainard,¹ bishop of Silva Candida, had been sent to Dalmatia by Nicholas II. to deal with various questions of reform. In conjunction with John IV., archbishop of Spalato, he caused various decrees to be passed relative to clerical continency, discipline, and immunity. It was also decided that "Slavs ignorant of Latin were not to be ordained,"² and, as we learn from the archdeacon of Spalato, that the divine mysteries were not to be celebrated in the Slavonic tongue, but only in Latin or Greek.³ These decrees were confirmed both by Nicholas II.⁴ and by Alexander (1062),⁵ in a letter addressed to the king (Peter Cresimir) and bishops of Dalmatia.

As usual, there was no trouble about the more serious questions; but when, continues Thomas, the decrees about the liturgy had been confirmed by the Apostolic See, all the Slav priests were much troubled, for their churches were closed, and they themselves suspended. They, therefore, appealed to the Pope, who, according to the archdeacon, replied to them as follows: "Know, my children, that I

¹ Mainard was a monk on Dec. 6, 1059, and was certainly a bishop in May 1061. Cf. Jaffé, i. pp. 557, 566 and 567. Hence Gams (*Series Epp.*) is mistaken in deferring his accession to the episcopacy till 1065. The same author gives as the period of the episcopacy of John IV. c. 1050-c. 1059. He was still alive in 1060.

² Jaffé, 4477 (3509, 3510, 3521), or epp. 124, 125 and 136.

³ C. 16. Cf. d'Avril, *St. Cyrille*, p. 249.

⁴ Cf. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 205.

⁵ Hence the archdeacon Thomas assigns them to the time of Alexander, and to a synod of all the bishops of Dalmatia and Croatia held by the cardinal-bishop Mainard.

have often heard much said in favour of what the *Goths* request ; but because this liturgy was framed by Arians, I cannot depart from the tradition of my predecessors, nor give the Slavs leave to celebrate the divine mysteries in their own language.”¹ If the Spalatan, who was not born till one hundred and forty years after this, has correctly preserved the words of Alexander, there must have reigned a strange ignorance at Rome which could identify SS. Cyril and Methodius with Arian heretics, unless, indeed, the Pope is simply referring to the Glagolitic characters in which the liturgy was written and of which the origin is still obscure. This decision of Alexander did not settle the question, nor did the action of the legate whom he sent “to extirpate the unspeakable schism.”²

In the beginning of the eleventh century Venice had obtained some authority over Dalmatia ; and although Peter Cresimir, who became king of Croatia in 1052, took the additional title of “king of Dalmatia,” and replaced Venetian influence over most of it by his own, the republic was still master of a portion of the country even during Peter’s reign.³ Where Venice held sway, the use of the Slavonic tongue in the liturgy was suppressed, but it was preserved in the other parts of the country ; and, as we have already noticed, was finally approved by Innocent IV. (1248).⁴

¹ C. 16, ed. Rački, p. 51. He notes (p. 49) that by *Goths* the archdeacon understands *Glagolites*, *i.e.*, those who employ the Glagolitic letters and the Slovenic dialect. “Propter Arianos inventores litterature hujusmodi, dare eis licentiam in sua lingua tractare divina . . . nullatenus audeo.” It is to be observed that the Croats were tainted with the Arian heresy. Thomas, c. 13. In the attack which the Popes made at this time on both the Slavonic and the Mozarabic liturgies, they put forward heretical tampering with them as a reason for their wishing their abolition in both cases.

² *Ib.*, p. 52.

³ Cf. Wilkinson, *Dalmatia*, ii. 225 ff.

⁴ d’Avril, *l.c.*, p. 253.

i. The
beginnings
of Servia
and Peter
of Antivari.

In the reorganisation of the provinces of the Roman Empire effected by Diocletian towards the close of the third century, Dalmatia was divided into two provinces, into Dalmatia proper¹ and Prævalitana.² Of this latter province, which only just touched the sea (Adriatic), the central portion was Zenta, or the modern Montenegro, and its chief city from about the sixth century³ was Dioclea (or Doclea, now Duklia, a mass of ruins), situated between the rivers Zenta (or Zetta) and Moraka, just above their junction a mile or two north of Podgoritzza.⁴ In harmony with this political partition, there were originally two ecclesiastical provinces, one under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Salona-Spalato, and the other under that of the archbishop of Dioclea. When, however, Leo the Isaurian forcibly withdrew Illyricum from the western patriarchate, he subjected Dioclea itself and other cities to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Dyrrachium in Epirus Nova. But, as time went on, Byzantine influence on the eastern shores of the Adriatic declined before the advancing power of the Slavs, and Dioclea was brought under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Spalato. In the century of which we are now writing, viz., the eleventh, Dalmatia was again divided for ecclesiastical purposes into two provinces, and the metropolitan see of the southern portion was fixed first at Antivari, and, as will be noticed later on, afterwards at Ragusa. The cause of this re-establishment of the southern province of Dalmatia is thus given by Archdeacon Thomas in his history of Salona.⁵

¹ Or *lower* or *maritime* Dalmatia, *supra mare*, with its capital, Salona.

² Or *upper* or *mediterranea* Dalmatia.

³ Scodra or Scutari was its former capital.

⁴ See the map in Coquelle's *Hist. du Monténégro et de Bosnie*, Paris, 1895.

⁵ C. 15. Cf. Fabre, *Le "Liber Censuum,"* i. p. 141.

In obeying the summons of its archbishop Dabralis (1030-1045) to a council, four of the bishops of upper or southern Dalmatia¹ were drowned at sea. Thus deprived of their pastors, the people of the bereaved dioceses petitioned the Pope to constitute a separate province for them, "as it was dangerous for them to visit so remote a church." Wherefore the Roman bishop granted their request, freed all the bishops from Ragusa upwards (*a Ragusio superius*) from subjection to the old metropolitanical see (Salona-Spalato), and made them depend on the new one of Antivari.

But it is believed that what the archdeacon sets down as a cause was really only a pretext. The destruction of the Bulgarian Empire, then the first non-Greek power in the Balkan peninsula, by Basil II. (Bulgaroctonus) in 1018, and his subsequent occupation of Bosnia and upper Dalmatia, had not, however, led to the more complete submission of their Slavonic inhabitants to Constantinople. Under the leadership of a Servian Zhupan,² Stephen Boitslav³ (or Dobroslav), the Serbs defeated the Byzantines in a great battle close to Antivari in the defiles of Jeni-bazaar. This took place during the reign of the unwarlike emperor Constantine IX., Monomachus, about the year 1043, and laid the foundation of the Servian monarchy.⁴

It was only to be expected that Boitslav would wish to have the bishops of Servia dependent on one of themselves, and that, after throwing off the imperial yoke, he would

¹ The bishops of Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno, and Sfacia.

² A chief of a district. It must be borne in mind that the old kingdom of Servia embraced the modern Bosnia, Montenegro, and the Adriatic coast, whence it spread east.

³ Or Voislavich. It was his son, Michael I., who received a crown from Gregory VII., and became the first king of Servia.

⁴ Cf. *Hist. de Serbie*, by Davidovits, Belgrade, 1848; Ranke's *Servia*, p. 4 f.; *Turkey in Europe*, by Odysseus, London, 1900; Duchesne, *Le provincial Romain au xii^e siècle*, p. 112 ff., ap. *Mélanges d'archéol.*, 1904; Miller, *The Balkans*.

turn to Rome rather than to Constantinople for the establishment of a local hierarchy. And as Dioclea had been destroyed during the wars (1027), it was proposed to erect the new metropolitan see at Antivari on the coast. Whether, then, the petition for a south Dalmatian or Servian archbishopric proceeded from prince or people, it is certain that it was granted by Rome.

In 1067 Alexander issued a bull to Peter, "the venerable archbishop of Dioclea and Antivari," in which he decreed that his jurisdiction should extend over the sees of what then constituted the kingdom of Servia,¹ and over the monasteries therein, whether of Latins, Greeks, or Slavs: "in order that you may know that all these form one church over which you are to have episcopal control." He, moreover, in accordance with custom, sent him the pallium,² and permitted him to have the cross carried before him "through Dalmatia and Slavonia," *i.e.*, through Dalmatia south of Ragusa, and through the rest of his archdiocese in Servia, etc.

But though, like their bitter enemies, the Bulgarians, with whom to this day they have ever been at war, the Servians were very glad to turn to the Popes whenever their patronage was of use to them, they finally, again like the Bulgarians, after long playing off Constantinople against

¹ Viz. Cattaro, Sfacia, Scutari, Drivasto, Pulati, Trebignee, the bishoprics of Servia and Bosnia and Kjoпрulu, the ecclesia Palechiensis or Balezensis of the Pope's letter. Cf. on this letter (ep. 47), Fabre, *l.c.* The document concludes: "Archiepiscopatum quoque Ecclesiæ tuæ, juxta formam sanctorum prædecessorum nostrorum, a quorum auctoritate non debes aberrare, concedimus."

² "Pallium autem fraternitati tuæ ex more ad missarum solemnia celebranda, sicut antecessoribus tuis concessum est, concessimus." This letter is also published by Rački in his *Documenta Historiæ Chroaticæ*, p. 201. As the old see of Dioclea was meant to be continued in Antivari, the first prelate of the latter see could thus be said to have had predecessors.

From the ninth century the Bohemians had been to a greater or less extent dependent on their Teutonic neighbours; but the princes of Bohemia very seldom lost an opportunity of striking a blow for complete freedom from the yoke which ever galled them. Spytihněv II. (1055-1061) inherited from his father a fierce hatred of the Germans,² and drove them out of Bohemia, as though he were clearing his garden of nettles.³ To strengthen his

² Hence his praise is loudly sounded in the first extant work on the history of Bohemia written in its native language, viz., in the poetical chronicle known as that of *Dalimil*, composed about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Cf. Friez and Leger, *La Bohême*, p. 267, Paris, 1867.

“In Slavic tongue the mass they sing,
Before God’s table clustering ;
Heretical their conduct bold,
Such service in this land to hold.

Their slanders had such force and strength,
They drove them (the native monks) all away at length.*

Cf. Wratislaw, *The Native Literature of Bohemia*, p. 37, London, 1878. Cosmas of Prague, the Bede of Bohemia, was born about 1045, and after studying at Liège, became a priest at Prague, 1099, and died October 1125. He wrote his lively and valuable *Chronicon Bohemiæ* in his old age. It was continued in an inferior style (1) by a writer whom

hand against them he turned, like so many other Slav princes, to Rome, and begged Pope Nicholas II. to grant him the insignia of a king, in order that they might serve as a sign of his absolute independence. It is possible, however, that his request may have been merely to hold his country of the Pope instead of the emperor. At any rate, Cardinal Deusdedit assures us that he found it recorded in a Lateran codex (in *tumulo* for *tomulo*) that Spytihněv was authorised by Pope Nicholas to wear a *mitre*, "which is not wont to be bestowed on lay persons,"¹ and that the prince promised to pay him annually a sum of a hundred pounds of silver "as a tax."²

The curse of Bohemia was the ever-recurring dissensions in the reigning family. Spytihněv was succeeded by his brother Vratislav (1061-1092), who, among other reasons, because he was rather well-disposed towards the Germans, was soon involved in a long and bitter struggle with his brother Jaromir, and was through it drawn to side with the empire in its war against the Papacy.

In accordance with a common custom, Jaromir, the youngest of the five sons of Bracislav, had been destined by his father for the Church, and to succeed Severus († December 9, 1067) as archbishop of Prague. He had, therefore, been devoted to a life of study; but when his brother Vratislav discovered that he had no taste for either

some call the canon of Wissegrad (1126-1142), and (2) by a monk of Sazava (1162), and several canons of Prague, bringing it down to the year 1283. Ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix., or *P. L.*, t. 166.

¹ Cf. ep. i. 38 of Gregory VII. on this subject. He allows Vratislav also to wear it.

² "Item in quodam tumulo Lateranensi . . . Speciocneus dux Bœmiæ accepit licentiam a Papa Nicolao sibi portandi mitram, et promisit se daturum omni anno C. libras argenti de terra sua sub nomine census." Ed. Martinucci, p. 333. Cf. Fabre, *Étude sur le Liber cens.*, p. 123. Vratislav continued to pay the tax. Greg. epp. ii. 7.

study or the Church, but wished to inherit some of the power of Spytihněv, he caused him to be ordained deacon by force.¹ But Jaromir, "despising the grace which had been given him by the imposition of hands, put on the dress of a soldier, and fled with his followers to the duke of Poland (Boleslaus II.), and remained with him till the death of Bishop Severus."²

No sooner had that taken place than Jaromir's two brothers, Conrad and Otho, summoned him from Poland, and bade him resume the tonsure and his clerical attire, with a view to his succeeding the deceased bishop. Despite the opposition of the crafty Vratislav,³ who wished to nominate a German partisan of his own, Jaromir was elected by the clergy and people⁴ (June 1068), was confirmed in his appointment by Henry IV. of Germany, and, changing his name to Gebehard, was consecrated.

Thus installed against his brother's will, it was not to be expected that he would live in harmony with him. Quarrels soon broke out between them. Both parties turned to the Pope, who wrote to them over and over again, begging them to live in peace with one another.⁵ He then, at the request of the duke, sent legates to try to settle the matters in dispute between them, and ended by excommunicating Jaromir.⁶

¹ Cosmas, l. ii. c. 18, an. 1061.

² *Ib.*

³ Cosmas (*ib.*, c. 22) humorously notes that his conduct was like that of "vulpecula quæ non illuc fugit quo suam jactavit caudam."

⁴ The intense hatred of the Bohemians towards the Germans is strongly brought out in the election debate. They declared they would sooner see a dog's tail, "aut asini merdam," on the episcopal throne rather than the duke's candidate. *Ib.*, c. 23.

⁵ Ep. 84, an. 1071. "Itaque de lite, quæ inter te et fratrem tuum episcopum protracta est, et pro qua compescenda jam aliquoties utrique scripsimus, valde solliciti sumus."

⁶ *Ib.* and ep. Siegfried (an. 1074), ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 84. As the German princes claimed to be the temporal suzerains of the Bohemians, the German prelates exacted spiritual submission from the

The principal cause of trouble between the brothers was connected with the bishopric of Moravia.

At the request of Vratislav, Severus of Prague had agreed to a partition of his diocese. A new bishopric of Moravia was established at Olomouci (Olmütz) in 1062, and a certain John became its first incumbent. As a recompense for the concession, the bishop of Prague was to receive a sum of money from the duke,¹ and certain properties in different parts of Bohemia. Unable, after four years and more had passed in vain effort, to obtain from his brother either the money or the suppression of the new diocese, the warlike Jaromir swore: "By God! I will either unite the dioceses or lose both of them."² He accordingly paid John an unexpected visit, and is credited with having maltreated him in the most barbarous manner³ (1073).

Vratislav at once appealed to Rome on behalf of the outraged bishop,⁴ and Pope Gregory replied by promptly dispatching legates to Bohemia. But finding that Jaromir paid no heed to them,⁵ he ordered him to present himself in Rome by April 13, 1074.⁶ Vratislav was also to come

Bohemian bishops. Hence in this letter Siegfried expressed great indignation to Gregory VII. that Alexander had excommunicated Jaromir without reference to him. But Gregory in answer (i. 60) pointed out that Siegfried only then concerned himself about the case when John of Moravia, who had been persecuted by Jaromir, exercised his right, and appealed to the Holy See. *Cf.* ep. i. 61, where Gregory informs Vratislav that he has severely reproved Siegfried for his foolish and impertinent interference. Gregory had not been mollified by the archbishop's general acknowledgment of submission: "Ego vero et fratres mei deberemus ad apostolicam sedem velut ad caput nostrum referre, si tanta res esset, ut per nos nec posset nec deberet terminari."

¹ Cosmas, ii. 21.

² *Ib.*, 27.

³ *Ib.* *Cf.* Greg., i. 60. Jaromir, however, denied to Gregory that he had struck John (*ib.*, i. 78).

⁴ Cosmas, *ib.*, 28 and 29.

⁵ Ep. i. 17, an. 1073.

⁶ Ep. i. 44.

to Rome, or to send John and some representatives.¹ Jaromir duly presented himself before the Pope, and, denying some of the charges urged against him, and offering satisfaction for such as he admitted, gained Gregory's goodwill. He was reinstated in his see, and his brother was asked to restore what belonged to him.² It was further decided that the quarrel between the two bishops was to be settled in a synod at which they were both to be present, and to which the duke was asked to send delegates.³

But no sooner had Jaromir returned to Bohemia, than, making a false use of Gregory's letters, he endeavoured to rob both his brother and John. This conduct brought down upon him a severe letter from the Pope,⁴ and a peremptory order to present himself along with John at the synod already appointed. In due course the two bishops duly presented themselves before the Pope, and a council assembled in the Lateran basilica (March 1075). Fortunately for Jaromir, there was also present at this council "the most powerful lady Matilda . . . whose nod, as though she were their own sovereign, the whole senatorial order obeyed, and with whose advice (*per eam*) Pope Gregory himself transacted all his business, both spiritual and temporal; for she was a most wise counsellor, and in all its troubles and difficulties the greatest support of the Roman Church."⁵ According to Cosmas, she was in some way related to the family of Jaromir, and saved him from being condemned by Gregory as absolutely as he had been by Alexander. Though the Pope says nothing of this intercession of the illustrious countess, he does tell

¹ Ep. i. 45.

² Ep. i. 78.

³ *Ib.*, an. 1074, April 16.

⁴ Ep. ii. 6. Cf. ii. 7, 8.

⁵ Cosmas, *ib.*, c. 31. The power of the great countess had evidently made a great impression on the men of Prague.

us that Jaromir was pardoned by him, and that, as he could not at the time arrive at the truth in the matter of the disputed points between the two bishops, he ordered them to live at peace with one another, each keeping half the property in litigation between them. He fixed, however, a period of ten years during which either party might make good what he believed to be his just claims.¹

The last mention of the two bishops made by Gregory is in a letter in which he exhorts Vratislav to keep his dominions in peace, and himself to live at peace with John and Jaromir.²

Simony in
the Church
in Ger-
many.

If greed of power and gold on the part of the bishop of Prague kept the Church of Bohemia in a state of unrest, similar causes were producing a like result in the Church in Germany. The great bishops of the empire had, for the most part, more in common with lay princes than with churchmen. They were desirous of independence, whether of Pope or king. They acknowledged, indeed, as we have seen in the case of Siegfried of Mainz, that the Pope was their superior, and that with him lay the final decision of important matters, but they strove to prevent them from being referred to him; and in the struggle between the Papacy and the empire many of them were more ready to side with the emperor than with the Pope. So far from co-operating with the Popes in their efforts at reform, they resisted them. Guilty of simony themselves, they were not likely to co-operate in an earnest effort to stamp it out of the German Church. They imitated their temporal rather than their spiritual ruler, for Henry IV. was deeply stained with simony. It is true that in a passing mood he

¹ Ep. ii. 53 (March 1075), and Cosmas, *l.c.*

² Ep. ii. 71. Cf. ii. 72, in which all the Bohemians are entreated to love peace. *Peace*, the motto of the modern Benedictines at least, was Gregory's constant cry.

acknowledged and deplored his guilt in this direction,¹ but his repentance was but transitory, his sin a habit. He was as reckless in the manner in which he dealt with ecclesiastical appointments as in the way in which he made or unmade the feudatories of the empire. With the utmost contempt for proper legal procedure, and with a total disregard of consequences, he wantonly deprived of his dukedom the powerful Saxon, Otho of Nordheim, duke of Bavaria, and gave it to Welf (or Guef), the son of an Italian marquis, Azzo, and son-in-law of Otho himself. He was to live to rue his heedless folly.

He lived to find out, also, that he could not treat the Church with impunity.² The efforts of the Popes to effect a reformation of manners were telling upon the people, and they were not long before they convinced both king and bishop that the laws of the Church must be respected. Here we purpose, in proof of this, merely to give details of the singularly dramatic case of the double abbey of Stablo-Malmedy, both of which were some twenty miles south of Liège and Aix-la-Chapelle. Both Stablo, in the diocese of Liège, and Malmedy, in that of Cologne, owed their foundations to Sigebert II., acting under the advice of St. Remaclus (*c.* 651). For a while the saint governed both monasteries, which came to be regarded as one, and sometime after his death (*c.* 664) was recognised the patron-saint of Stablo.

The
triumph of
St. Remaclus,
1071.

¹ In a letter to Pope Gregory, addressed to him at the beginning of his pontificate (1073), he confessed that through youth, the abuse of power, and following bad advice too easily, he had done great wrong in the matter of simony: "*non solum enim nos res ecclesiasticas invasimus, verum quoque indignis quibuslibet et symoniaci felle amaricatis et non per ostium sed aliunde ingredientibus ecclesias ipsas vendidimus, et non eas ut oportuit defendimus.*" Ep. i. 29 *a* among the letters of Gregory.

² See the checks he received in the cases of Charles with regard to the bishopric of Constance, and of Robert, abbot of Bamberg, *ap. Delarc*, ii. 508 ff.

Brusquely brushing aside all rights, privileges, and precedents, King Henry gave the monastery of Malmedy to Archbishop Anno in 1063. The abbot of the twin houses at once betook himself to Rome, and was well received by Alexander "and by the consuls of the republic."¹ At his request, and by reason of his duty to the universal Church, the Pope wrote a strong letter to Anno. Telling him that he was surprised that a man of whom he had had such a good account should be guilty of injustice, he bade him respect the rights of others. But Anno paid no heed to the Pope's words, nor to a promise of amendment which he made to the Pope in person when he was humbled before him in the year 1068.² Nor would he listen to the king when he wished to undo the wrong of which he had been guilty. He would not, he said, give up his possession if St. Remaclus himself were to appear before him, and ask him to do so.³

Not indeed in the manner conceived by Anno, but the saint did appear before him, and, despite the obstinate archbishop, obtained justice for his monks. Unable to obtain his rights from Pope or king, the abbot had turned to God and his patron-saint and bethought him of a striking scheme.

On the evening of Easter Day (May 8, 1071) the king and queen and the great spiritual and temporal lords of the empire were holding a grand state banquet at Liège. The hall in which they were sitting feasting was brilliant with lights and the splendid dresses of the company. Wine and wit, the fragrance of flowers and savoury viands

¹ *Triumphus S. Remacii*, i. 19, written in a diffuse style by Godfrey, a monk of Stablo, about 1080.

² *Ib.*, c. 22, and *supra*, p. 292.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 4. "Etiam ipse quem dicunt sanctum, si, corporali specie resumpta, per se rogaturus veniret, nequaquam meo permissu suæ petitionis compos fieret."

were doing their work, and the guests were in the highest spirits. Suddenly a low and melancholy chant makes itself heard amid the noise and revelry; it rings louder and louder, and bright cheeks grow pale, and laughter dies away on the lip, when a body of dark-robed monks slowly enter the banqueting-hall, and solemnly set before the king the massive shrine which contained the relics of St. Remaclus. "Look on him, O king!" they exclaimed, "whom you have wronged. Return to him what the world acknowledges to be his. Give him justice now, lest he seek it against you from God." Panic seized the whole assembly; the queen was in tears, and the king was profoundly moved. "It is through you," he cried to the archbishop, "that this has fallen upon me."

A scene of great disorder followed. Unmoved by the entreaties of the king and the bishops, or by the objurgations of Anno, the monks refused to remove the body of the saint till justice was done them. Thereupon Henry and his guests hurriedly deserted the banqueting-hall, which was immediately filled by a crowd of excited people crying out: "Why, O just God, do you allow this injustice to be perpetrated upon the earth?" Their excitement became intense when the table on which the shrine of the saint had been placed, giving way beneath its weight, broke a man's leg, which was seen to be healed instantly by the intercession of the saint. The crowd grew in numbers; miracles were worked all through the night.¹ The king's officers made a vain attempt themselves to remove the shrine. It could not be stirred.

Thoroughly perturbed by all these events, Henry at length restored to the monks the monastery which he had

¹ Cf. Lambert of Hersfeld (an. 1071). "*Ita per totam noctem . . . tanta . . . coruscabat miraculorum multitudo, ut corporali quodammodo proclamatione videretur beatus Remaclus jus suum expostulare.*"

forced the reluctant archbishop to return to him (May 9, 1071).¹

St. Peter
Damian
resigns his
bishopric,
1061.

During the first few years of his reign, Alexander witnessed two striking renunciations of high station, one in the Church and one in the world. He was not long Pope before he received a request from St. Peter Damian to be allowed to resign his See of Ostia. What Nicholas had refused,² Alexander might have granted at once but for the strenuous opposition of Hildebrand. The archdeacon, who knew that the days were evil, believed that it was the duty of all such as were able and willing to oppose wrong not to abandon positions of importance, but to remain in the world, and meet the powers of darkness face to face. Such, however, were not the views of Damian, and he wrote a remarkable letter³ "to his most beloved the elect of the Apostolic See, and to Hildebrand, the rod of Assur, . . . who are the Apostolic See, the Roman Church."⁴ He declared himself ready to be put in prison if only he were released from his office. "But perchance that smooth tyrant,⁵ who has ever for me a sort of Neronian pity, who soothes me with blows, and, so to speak, strokes me with an eagle's talon, will break out into this querulous complaint: 'See, he seeks a place of refuge, and, under the pretext of doing penance, would shun coming to Rome; by disobedience he

¹ *Triumphus*, ii. 22, 28, 29, etc. With the *Triumphus* compare Lambert, and the *Ann. Alt.* (1071), and the letter of Theoduin, bishop of Liège. The latter wrote to a friend: "Fit inenerrabilis populi commotio, cantat ecclesia, contremiscit aula, rex accurit anhelus, bona quæ abstulerat ss. corpori utrisque repræsentat manibus." *Ap. P. L.*, t. 146, p. 1444. These authorities confirm the main outlines of the *Triumphus*.

² *Cf.* Damian, *Opusc.* 19.

³ Ep. i. 10, or, which is the same, *Opusc.* 20, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145.

⁴ He draws out the idea of "where Peter is, there is the Church" at some length: "Quo vos Petrus vobiscum fugiens attrahit, illic esse Romanam Ecclesiam omnibus indubitanter ostendit." *Ib.*

⁵ Thus in mock-heroic anger does he style Hildebrand.

would win leisure, and, while others are in the thick of the fight, he would secure for himself an inglorious repose.' But to my holy Satan (adversary), I would answer in the words of the sons of Reuben and Gad to their leader Moses: 'We ourselves will go armed and ready for battle before the children of Israel, until we bring them in unto their places. . . . But we will not seek anything beyond the Jordan, because we have already our possession on the east side thereof' (Num. xxxii. 17 ff)."¹ Pleading his old age, the difficulties of ruling, and other reasons, he concluded: "May He deliver the wretched Peter from the hands of Hildebrand, at whose order Herod's prison was thrown open for the great Peter."

Hildebrand, however, was not in the least disposed to entertain Damian's wishes, and would seem to have expressed in no uncertain voice his disapproval of the saint's intentions, and to have induced the Pope to accept his view of the situation. Accordingly, Damian wrote to Hildebrand directly, and, after affectionately upbraiding him for the cooling of his love for him, concluded by saying: "By these letters I return you the bishopric which you gave me, and I cut off from myself all rights and power which I have over it."² Whether Damian's resignation was accepted is uncertain; but, whether he henceforth ceased to act as bishop of Ostia or not, it is certain that no other person was named its bishop till after the saint's death (1072).³

¹ In ep. i. 11 to the Pope he also pleads ill-health, but he knows Hildebrand will only laugh: "A summo amicorum meorum domino videlicet archidiacono, risum extorquendum esse non ambigo." On the real friendship between Damian and Hildebrand, see Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vi. 351 f.

² Ep. ii. 8.

³ Cf. Capecelatro, *Damiano*, l. vii. He was certainly relieved of the temporal rule of his diocese; for, in writing to the Pope (i. 15), he tells him that he has heard the good news, "vos Ostiensem comitatum mihi subtraxisse et alii tradidisse."

The Em-
press Agnes
a nun,
1067.

In the year 1067 Rome, says the same saint, was edified by seeing the Empress Agnes riding into the city on a wretched steed, scarcely larger than a little ass, and clad in a miserable dark-coloured linen garment. She had changed a crown for a veil, and fine purple for sackcloth, and the hand which had grasped a sceptre clasped a prayer-book.¹

Bereft not only of power, but of the guardianship of her son, whose dissolute courses she bitterly deplored, full of grief for her share in the schism of Cadaloüs, the empress-mother conceived a disgust for the world. She retired first to the abbey of Fructuaria in Piedmont (1066),² and then came to Rome to learn "the folly of the fisherman."³ Henceforth an ally of the Papacy, she spent her time till the day of her death (1077) serving the poor of Christ. She was buried in the chapel of St. Petronilla.⁴

Death of
Alexander
II., April
21, 1073.

Some four years before the death of the lady, whose repentance for the wrong she had done him he lived to see, Alexander II. closed in death his arduous struggle against the vices of the clergy, and the naturally still greater ones of the laity.⁵ This ardent defender of the rights of the Papacy⁶—the source of consolation in the midst of the ills of life⁷—this uncompromising opponent of simony⁸ and

¹ Ep. Damian, vi. 5, *i.e.* *Opusc.* 56, c. 3.

² *Chron. Piemontese*, 1066, p. 132, ed. Calligaris. Cf. pp. 80–81.

³ Damian, *l.c.*, c. i. Cf. 1 Cor. i. 18 ff. Sigebert, *Chron.*, 1062.

⁴ Cf. Berthold, *Annales*, 1077 (ap. *P. L.*, t. 147), for an account of her saintly life in Rome.

⁵ "Totus itaque mundus hoc tempore nihil est aliud nisi gula, avaritia, atque libido." This proposition (ap. ep. i. 15) St. Peter Damian proceeds to develop in his customary outspoken language.

⁶ "Hujus S. sedis decreta ita pia fide a filiis matris ecclesiæ accipienda sint . . . ut tanquam regula canonum, ab eisdem absque ullo scrupulo admittantur." Ep. 95. Cf. Jaffé, 4509.

⁷ Epp. 39, 41.

⁸ Cf. epp. 5, 26, 36, 43, 44, 51, 80, 83, 93, 105, etc. These numerous proofs of his opposition to simony are given because Rangerius (p. 42)

clerical incontinence¹ was buried in the Lateran basilica near Sergius IV.² Like several of his predecessors, he had helped to prepare the way for Hildebrand, and has derived no little of his renown from the co-operation of that master-spirit. Under his guidance, to quote the words of Otto of Frising,³ "he restored to her pristine liberty the Church, which had long been in a state of servitude."

does not hesitate to make Alexander confess to being a victim of this vice :

"Cum miser et captus romanæ sedis amore
Distraxi decimas, militibusque dedi,
Dispersi pretio curtes, etc.
Sed quia jam pœniteo, jam quæ inconsultius egi,
Permutare libet, et melius sapere."

He also accuses Alexander of keeping the bishopric of Lucca to give it to his nephew, and bitterly accuses him of ruining the liberty of the Church by instructing that nephew to seek investiture at the hands of King Henry.

¹ Ep. i.

² Greg VII. Ep. i. 3 ; *L. P.*, ii. 267, 281.

³ *Chron.*, vi. 34. Voigt (*Grégoire VII.*, pp. 160, 161) has much to say in praise of Alexander.

APPENDIX I.

(See p. 75.)

THE SOURCES OF ICELANDIC HISTORY.

WE will give here, once for all, a brief account of the most important historical productions of Iceland, drawn for the most part from Vigfusson's *Prolegomena* to his edition of the *Sturlunga Saga*, two vols., Oxford, 1878. The earliest and most important of the extant records of Iceland is the *Landnama Bok*, i.e., Place-name Book, of the priest Ari Froði (the learned), the Bede of Iceland, who was born in 1067, and was one of the chiefs of that land who were in Holy Orders. He died in 1148. "Ari the Learned," says Snorri (†1241) in his preface to the *Heimskringla*, "was the first man of this land who wrote down lore both old and new in the speech of the North. . . . Nothing wonderful it is that Ari knew many ancient tales both of our lands and the outlands, inasmuch as he had learnt them from old men and wise, and was himself a man of eager wit and fruitful memory" (quoted p. xxii of Ellwood's most useful translation of the *Landnama Bok*, or Book of Settlement, Kendal, 1898). The *L. B.* gives a notice of each of the 400 original settlers of Iceland. Ari also wrote a history of some of the kings of Norway (*Konung Bok*), now lost, but used by Snorri; and the *Kristni Saga*, a work of the first importance for the history of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland. "Part of it is actually quoted in Bishop Paul's Saga (this biography was written by one of Paul's, †1211, household) as Ari's, in the style and frame of whose works it is entirely moulded. So that, although it has not come down to us altogether untouched by the hand of a later editor (Odd?

the Benedictine monk, who died at the close of the twelfth century), we take it to be clearly his." Vigfusson, i. p. xxxiv. I have used the edition of 1773 (Havniæ), to which there is attached a Latin translation.

Ari quotes (*L. B.*, i. 1) "Sæmund the Priest deep in lore," 1056-1133. He also wrote a short *King's Book* (840-1047), evidently, from the quotation of Snorri just given, in *Latin*. It only survives in later authors.

Following the example of Ari and Sæmund, various authors committed to writing what are known as the lesser Icelandic sagas. Sagas are historical stories—or at least were to begin with; for from the second half of the thirteenth century mythical tales were thrown into saga form—and, as such, are of every degree of authenticity according to their origin. Many of these lesser sagas, consisting of lives of the kings of Norway, etc., were in Latin. Both the lesser and the greater sagas tell for the most part of what took place in the so-called Heroic Age, 890-1030, the age of settlement and of the two Olafs, the latter of whom, the saint, died in 1030.

The thirteenth century is the golden age of Icelandic historical literature. It is the age of the five greater sagas, the *Egla*, *Njala* (the finest of them; Eng. trans. by Dasent, Edinburgh, 1861 and later), etc., English translations of which are appearing in Quaritch's *Saga Library*, and of the most famous of the Icelandic historians, Snorri Sturleson, and his cousin, Sturla Thordson.

Snorri (1178-1241) was brought up in the house of the great-grandson of Sæmund, the historian; was twice lawman or chief of the Icelandic Republic; twice visited Norway, and was slain in 1241 by the command of its king, Haco, against whom he had taken part. He was both a poet and an historian. His title to be counted an historian rests on the grand series of the *Lives* of the kings of Norway, from mythical times to the death of Sigurd, the Crusader (1130), which is generally quoted as Snorri's *Heimskringla* (the World's Circle). Vigfusson (*l.c.*, p. lxxx) considers the mythical portion and the earlier historical lives (863-995) to be "substantially Ari's," but those from Olaf Trygvesson to Sigurd (995-1130), "as they now exist in the fuller forms, to be his very work." For the picturesqueness and dramatic force of his style, Snorri has been preferred to Joinville and Froissart. and

by enthusiasts even ranked with Shakespeare. The *Heimskringla* has been translated into English by Laing, 3 vols., London, 1844, which is the translation I have used, and more recently in the *Saga Library*.

To the same great Sturlung family belonged Sturla Thordson (1214-1284), who gave his name to the largest and most important of the sagas, the *Sturlunga Saga*. This is a collection of pieces, of which the most valuable, the *Islendinga Saga*, 1196-1262, is by Sturla himself. It treats of the terrible civil disorders which desolated Iceland in his time, which fully justified the interference of the mother-country (Norway), and which ended in 1261 in the downfall of the Icelandic republic, and the loss of its independence. In Vigfusson's edition of the *S. S.* (2 vols., Oxford, 1878), there is a summary of the *Islendinga Saga*. Unfortunately, no Latin translation was published with the earlier edition (1817-1820). Like his cousin Snorri, Sturla was twice lawman, and twice in Norway came in contact with its kings.¹

As there exists an English translation of it (*Life of Laurence, Bishop of Holar*, by O. Elton, London, 1890), we will also note the *Laurentius Saga Hólabiskups*, written by the bishop's disciple, Einar Hafliðason. Laurence was bishop of Holar from 1322-1331. English versions of the sagas of other Icelandic bishops will be found in Mrs Disney Leith's *Stories of the Bishops of Iceland*, London, 1895, and two short extracts in Icelandic and Latin from the *Biskupa Sögur*, in *M. G. SS.*, xxix.

Lastly, we would mention the *Annals of Iceland*, which, if scanty, are accurate. Fortunately, they become less jejune as the sagas become less valuable. Though the annals known as the *Annales Regii* run from 842-1306, with a continuation to 1341 (ap. *Sturlunga Saga*, ii. They may be read in Latin, ap. *Hist. Reg. Norveg.*, 5 vols., Havniæ, 1777), the notices have no independent origin till 1150. As there are but few Icelandic letters or charters extant, the annals are practically the only source after the first half of the fourteenth century, when the last of the sagas were written. Then follow the annals of Einar Hafliðason to 1392; and the *New Annals* end abruptly in 1430. The last named are published both in Icelandic and English in the *Rolls Series*.

¹ Cf. Ker, *Sturla the Historian*, Oxford, 1906.

APPENDIX II.

(See p. 348.)

THE DUKES AND KINGS OF CROATIA-DALMATIA.¹

839, MISLAV.

852, TERPIMIR.

865-876, DOMAGOJ.

878-879, SEDESLAV (of the family of Terpimir).

879-892, BRANIMIR (slew his predecessor).

892, MUNTIMIR.

KINGS OF THE CROATIANS.

900-924, TOMISLAV.

928, TERPIMIR II. (the father of Cresimir I.).

928-945-6, CRESIMIR I., the Elder, the great-grandfather of
Cresimir Peter.

Miroslav (reigned four years), son of Cresimir I.

978-1000, DIRCISLAV,² son of Cresimir I.

1009-1035, CRESIMIR II., son of Cresimir I., and grandfather of
Cresimir Peter.

1035-1058, STEPHEN I., father of Cresimir Peter.

¹ This table has been compiled from the authentic documents (*Documenta Historiæ Chroaticæ*, Zagrabia, 1877) published by Rački, and from his notes thereto, as well as from his notes to his edition (Zagrabia, 1894) of the *Historia Salonitana* of Archdeacon Thomas. The dates opposite the names frequently do no more than mark a period during which a given ruler was certainly reigning.

² Thomas, *Hist. Salon.*, c. 13. "Ab isto . . . ceteri successores ejus reges Dalmatiæ et Chroatiæ appellati sunt."

- 1058-1073, CRESIMIR PETER, king of the Croats and Dalmatians.
- 1073-1076, SLAVIZ.
- 1076-1088, SUINIMIR DEMETRIUS, first calls himself Duke of the Croats and Dalmatians, and then king, as he was crowned by papal legates at a council of Salona, 1076.
- 1088-1089, STEPHEN II., the nephew of Suinimir. On his death Dalmatia and Croatia were divided between Venice and Hungary.

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